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AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

AN
OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

BY
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SIXTH EDITION



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may seem rather too detailed or intricate for a grammar of this size, have been inserted, but relegated to the notes

The compiling of a grammar of a language so well worked out as Old English must, to a great extent, consist in the selection and arrangement of accepted facts, and my debt to the many Old English Grammars already existing is obvious. I may, however, mention specially Sievers' "Angelsächsische Grammatik" and Wright's "Old English Grammar;" but I have also made use of Cosijn's "Altwestsächsische Grammatik," Wyld's "A Short History of English," and Streitberg's "Urgermanische Grammatik," besides the smaller grammars of Bright and Wyatt and other authorities. Examples for the Accidence have been largely taken from Sweet's "Anglo-Saxon Reader." Above all, however, I am indebted to the late Professor Napier for all that I have gained from his Lectures and, still more, from personal discussion with him of complicated or disputed points. To all I gratefully acknowledge my debt, as also to my colleague, Mrs. W. H. B. Somerset, who has kindly allowed me to discuss many points with her during the progress of my work.

E. E. WARDALE

February, 1922

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

Ang.	= Anglian.	N.E.	= New English.
Dor.	= Doric.	North.	= Northumbrian.
E. Kent.	= Early Kentish.	O E	= Old English.
E.O.E.	= Early Old English.	O.H.G.	= Old High German.
E.W.S.	= Early West Saxon.	O.N.	= Old Norse.
Germ.	= Germanic.	O Sax.	= Old Saxon.
Goth.	= Gothic.	Pre-Germ.	= Pre-Germanic (Germanic in Indo-Germanic Period).
Grk.	= Greek.	Prim. Germ.	= Primitive Germanic.
Indg.	= Indo-Germanic.	Skand.	= Scandinavian.
Kent.	= Kentish.	Skr.	= Sanskrit.
Lat.	= Latin.	W.S.	= West Saxon.
Lith.	= Lithuanian.	* Denotes a hypothetical form.	
L. Kent.	= Late Kentish.	A letter or syllable enclosed in brackets indicates that the word occurs sometimes with and sometimes without that letter or syllable, as (3e)coren.	
L.O.E.	= Late Old English.		
L.W.S.	= Late West Saxon.		
Merc.	= Mercian.		
M.E.	= Middle English.		

AN OLD ENGLISH GRAMMAR

INTRODUCTION

Old English is the name given to the language spoken by the Germanic inhabitants of Britain till about the time of the Conquest, or, according to some scholars, till about 1100

It is a member of the western division of Germanic, which is itself a branch of the large Indo Germanic family of languages.

The relationship of Old English to the other Germanic languages and to the other branches into which the Indo-Germanic parent language broke up may be seen from the table on the next page, to which the following explanations apply. ✓

✓ **Aryan** may be subdivided into the Indian branch, to which belongs Sanskrit, and the Iranian or Persian branch. It is represented at the present day by the languages of India, Persia, and Afghanistan.

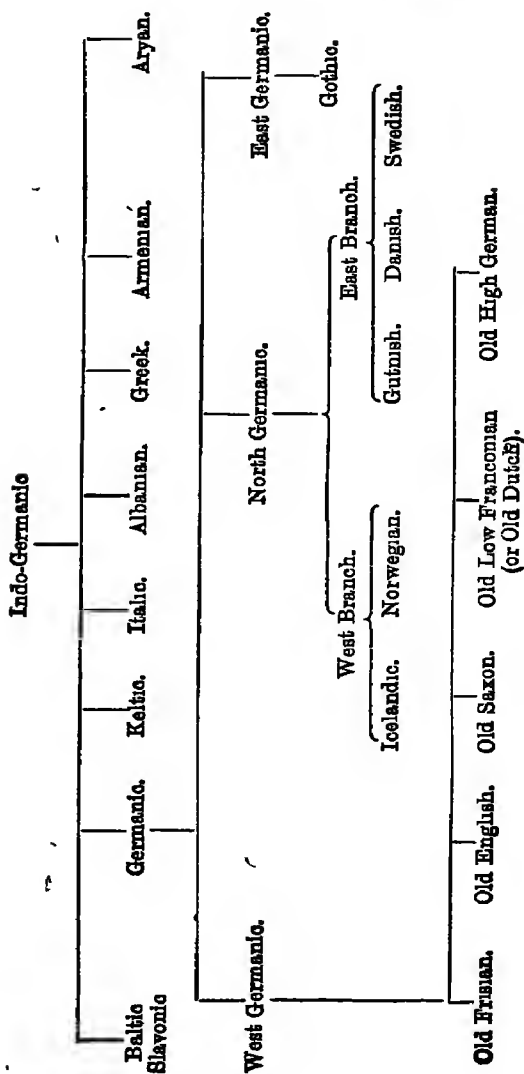
Under **Greek** three chief dialects have to be distinguished (1) **Ionio** and **Attic**, whence comes modern Greek, (2) **Doric**, (3) **Æolic**. ✓

Under **Italic** are included Latin and the dialects of the Italian peninsula. Its modern representatives are the descendants of Latin, i.e. French, Provençal, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Roumanian, and Rhaeto-romanian. ✓

✓ **Keltic** consists of the Britanno branch, which includes Welsh, Cornish, and Bas Breton, and the Gaelic branch, which includes Irish, Scotch, and Manx. ✓

✓ **Baltic Slavonic** is represented at the present day principally by Russian, Bulgarian, Polish, Czech or Bohemian, Serbian, Lettish, and Lithuanian. ✓

✓ **Germanic** is nearest to Keltic and Italic on the whole, but shares certain features with Baltic Slavonic. ✓ Sanskrit and Greek represent the parent Indo Germanic language most closely, Greek being on the other hand very near to Latin. In this Grammar, Greek and Latin are used as far as possible to represent the Indo Germanic originals of Germanic forms, Sanskrit and other languages being quoted only when necessary. ✓



The only representative of any importance of the **East Germanic** branch is Gothic. It provides the earliest recorded Germanic (of the fourth century), except for a few early inscriptions in Scandinavian Gothic forms are used here to illustrate the sources of Old English forms, whenever they may be taken as agreeing with those of Primitive or of West Germanic.

The **North Germanic** branch is also known as Scandinavian and as Old Norse. It is represented now by Icelandic, Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish.

Of the **West Germanic** dialects the most closely related to Old English is Old Frisian, whence is descended Modern Frisian; Old Saxon, the parent of the Low German dialects of North Germany, comes next. The term Old Low German is sometimes used for Old Saxon, sometimes for all the non-High German forms of West Germanic.

West Germanic is represented to-day by the languages of Germany, Austria, Eastern Switzerland, Holland, the Flemish-speaking area of Belgium, the United States, and the British Empire.

Four dialects of Old English have to be distinguished:—

(1) **West Saxon**, the dialect spoken by the Saxon tribes who came over to Britain and took possession of all the district south of the Thames, except Cornwall, which was still held by the Kelts, and those areas occupied by the Jutes.

(2) **Kentish**, the dialect of the Jutes who settled in Kent, part of Surrey, the Isle of Wight, and a strip of the opposite coast of Hampshire.

(3) **Mercian**, the dialect of the Angles who settled between the Thames and the Humber, except in Wales, where the Kelts still held their own.

(4) **Northumbrian**, the dialect of the rest of the Angles who settled between the Humber and the Firth of Forth, except in the Strathclyde district, i.e. along the west coast from Morecambe Bay to the Firth of Clyde. Here Celtic still continued to be spoken.

Mercian and Northumbrian being both Anglian dialects have many points in common. West Saxon and Kentish are sometimes classed together under the term Southern. This is, however, misleading as they agree in grammatical features only; in phonetic character Kentish is in many points nearer to Mercian than to West Saxon. Under Ælfred the West Saxon dialect became the literary language, and most earlier works, though chiefly of Anglian origin, were transcribed into it. Hence nearly all Old English Literature

has come down to us in West Saxon form and that is the dialect which is generally recognised as standard Old English

In this grammar, therefore, Old English means West Saxon and the peculiarities of the other dialects are treated separately

Changes in language take place so gradually that it is impossible to give definite dates for the beginning or end of a period. It is however convenient to divide West Saxon into an earlier and a later period, the earlier lasting till about 900 and the later from about 900 till the end of the O.E. period.

PHONOLOGY

CHAPTER I

THE OLD ENGLISH ALPHABET, PRONUNCIATION AND ACCENTUATION

§ 1. The Old English Alphabet was based on that of Latin with the addition of the two symbols þ (N E th) and ƿ (N E w), borrowed from the native runic alphabet, and of ȝ. It contained the following vowels and consonants

VOWELS : Front or Palatal æ, e, ƿ i, y.
 Back or Guttural a, o, u.
 Diphthongs ea, eo, iu, ie

CONSONANTS.

		Labial	Inter-Dental	Dental.	Palatal
Stops -	voiceless	p		t	c(k)
	voiced	b		d	ȝ (= g)
Spirants -	voiceless	f	þ	s	h
	voiced	f (= v)	ð	s (= z)	ȝ (= y)
Nasals -		m		n	ɲ
Liquids -				l, r	
Semivowel		w			

Note 1,—All vowels might be long or short. When long they are marked in this grammar with a line above them, thus ā.

When the sign ˘ is used, it indicates that the vowel is short.

The student should be careful from the beginning to observe the length of a vowel; ā and ȁ should be treated as two vowels as distinct as are a and e. ˘

Note 2 —ȝ is the symbol used in O.E. MSS. for g. For the sounds represented by it and for the use of the symbol ȝ in this grammar see § 4, c. For ð see § 4, a, note

PRONUNCIATION OF THE VOWELS

§ 2. The vowels were pronounced approximately as follows:—

- a** as in German *Mann*, as *habban*, to *have*.
ā as in N E *palm*, as *hām*, *home*.
æ like the *a* in *hat*, as *hætt*, *hat*.
ǣ much like the *a* in *uare*, as *wær*, *treaty*.
e as in *set*, as *settan*, to *set*.
ē nearly as the *ey* in *they*, as *grēne*, *green*.
i as in *sit*, as *sittan*, to *sit*.
ī as in *machine*, as *writan*, to *write*.
o much as in *hot*, as *god*, *God*.
ō as in *bone*, as *mōna*, *moon*.
u as in *full*, as *full*, *full*.
ū as in *rude*, as *hūs*, *house*.
y much as in French *juste*, as *cynn*, *kin*.
ȳ with the same sound lengthened, as *mȳs*, *mice*.
œ as in German *konnen*, as *œxen*, *oxen*.
œ̄ as in German *ode*, as *dœman*, to *judge*.

Note 1.—The writing *ē* is used by many scholars to distinguish an *e* which has arisen from an earlier *a* before an *i* or *j* (see *i* Mutation, §§ 33, 34) from one corresponding to an *e* in other Germanic dialects. Thus O.E. *nēmnan*, to *name*, is Goth. *namnjan*; O.E. *neƿede*, *saved*, is Goth. *nasida*; but O.E. *beran*, to *bear*, is O.H.G. *beran*. The sounds probably fell together early.

Note 2.—In the same way, the writing *o* is sometimes used to distinguish the *o* which occurs before nasals and corresponds to an *a* in other Germanic dialects (see § 27) from the *o* found also in other dialects. Thus O.E. *mōnn*, *man*, is O.H.G. *mann*, but O.E. *god*, *God*, is O.H.G. *got*.

Since the later history of *o* differs from that of *a*, it is probable that the sounds were never identical, but that the *o* used before a nasal represents a sound between that of *a* and *o*. This view is supported by the fact that both writings *a* and *o* occur in O.E. at all times side by side for Germ. *a* + nasal, as in O.E. *hand* or *hond*, *hand*. In this grammar the writing *a* is used.

Note 3.—The ligature *œ* is found only in Anglian and very early Kentish and West Saxon texts.

§ 3 In O.E. diphthongs both vowels were pronounced, the first bearing the accent, as *éa*, *ie*.

Examples are *heard*, *hard*, *grēat*, *great*, *weorðan*, to *become*;

cēosan, to choose, *lornung*, learning; *liht*, light; *giefan*, to give; *hieran*, to hear

PRONUNCIATION OF THE CONSONANTS

§ 4 Special phonetic terms are avoided here as much as possible; the student should refer to §§ 6-8 for any that may occur. For convenience of arrangement all such explanations as well as those of phonetic processes and kindred matter have been collected in those paragraphs.

Of the O E consonants, *b*, *d*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *p*, and *t* were pronounced as in modern English, but *c*, *f*, *g*, *h*, *r*, *s*, *þ*, *ð*, *w*, and *x* require notice.

(a) The rules are the same for the pronunciation of the three spirants *f*, *s*, *þ* (*ð*).

Initially and finally in an accented word, medially when doubled or in combination with another voiceless consonant (such as *p*, *t*, *k*), they were voiceless, i.e. they had the sound of N E. *f* in *full*, *s* in *sing*, and *th* in *think*.

Examples are *full*, *full*, *cealf*, *calf*, *offrian*, to offer; *hæft*, prisoner, *eftan*, to hasten, *singan*, to sing, *hūs*, house; *cyssan*, to kiss, *wlispian*, to *lisp*, *giest*, guest; *ricsian*, to rule; *pencan*, to think, *weorþ*, worth, *blīpsian*, to rejoice, *moppe*, moth.

Medially between vowels, between a liquid and a vowel, between a vowel and a liquid or nasal, and in unaccented words or syllables they were voiced, i.e. they were pronounced like N E *v*, *z*, and the *th* in *then*.

Examples are *ofer*, over, *ceorfan*, to carve; *eſne*, even; *of*, of, *cēosan*, to choose; *fælsian*, to purify, *hæsl*, hazel; *hlýsnan*, to listen; *is*, is, *daȝas*, days, *sēoðan*, to seethe, bowl, *hæðen*, heathen, *byrðen*, burden, *weorðan*, to become, *fæðm*, fathom, *ðu*, thou; *singað*, they sing.

Note—Most O.E. MSS. make no distinction in the use of the two symbols *þ* and *þ̄*, called by its runic name, *thorn*. The student will, however, find it useful in writing to keep *þ* for the voiceless and *þ̄* for the voiced sound. They are so used in this grammar.

(b) The pronunciation of *c* and *ȝ* can sometimes be determined on etymological grounds only, but the following practical rules will cover most cases. It is important to note that though *c* represents

more than one sound it must never be pronounced *s*, as in N E *pence*, *once*.

Initially before *ĕa*, *ĕo*, *ī*, *īe*; medially or finally after *en*; and finally after *i*, *ī*, *c* was in early O E pronounced something like the *cy* in the dialectal *cyards* for *cards*. It usually had the same sound when doubled and after *ē*, *īe*, *ȳ*, but its sound value in these positions can only be determined on etymological grounds.

By the end of the O E period this *c* had probably gained the sound of N E *ch*.

Examples are *ceaf*, *chaff*, *ceorl*, *churl*; *cild*, *child*, *ciele*, *chill*; *bēce*, *beach*, *benc*, *bench*, *smīec*, M E *smech*, *smoke*, *dīc*, *ditch*, *ic*, M E *ich*, *I*, *streccan*, *to stretch*, *bryce*, *breach*, *spræc*, *speech*, *rice*, M E *riche*, *kingdom*.

Initially before, medially and finally after the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u*, and initially before consonants, O E *c* had the sound of the N E *c* in *cool*.

Examples are *col*, *coal*, *bacan*, *to bake*, *bōc*, *book*, *clāene*, *clean*.

In the neighbourhood of the vowels *æ*, *ē*, *ī*, *ȳ*, when not developed to *ch* as above, O E *c* had the sound of the N E *k* in *kin*.

Examples are *cāne*, *bold*, *keen*, *cynn*, *race*, *wrecan*, *to punish*, *ureak*, *bæc*, *back*.

For further details the student should refer to §§ 6, *c* and 70.

(*c*) 3 had four sounds, all of which are printed *g* in most Grammars and Readers. Here, however, 3 is kept for the spirants and *g* used for the stop consonants (§ 6).

Initially before the front vowels *ĕa*, *ĕo*, *īe*, *ī*, medially and finally after *æ*, *ē*, *ī*, it had the sound of the *g* in German *weg*, or much like the *y* of N E *yield*.

Examples are *ȝear*, *year*, *ȝeoc*, *yoke*; *ȝiefan*, *to give*, *ȝifeð*, *he gives*, *dæȝes*, *gen sing of dæȝ*, *day*; *striȝol*, *stole*, *weȝ*, *way*, *wīȝ*, *battle*.

Medially and finally after the back vowels *ā*, *ō*, *ū*, it had the sound of the *g* in German *tag*, or an unfinished modern English *g*.

Examples are *boȝa*, *bow*, *draȝan*, *to draw*, *fūȝol*, *fowl*, *laȝu*, *law*, E O E *bōȝ*, *bough*.

The group *cg* represented a double *g*, which had probably by the end of the O E period gained the sound of the N E *dg* in *edge*. In the group *ng* it also sometimes had this sound.

Examples are *ecg*, *edge*, *sword*, *hrycg*, *back*, *riȝe*, *secgan*, *to say*, *sengean*, *to singe*.

Initially before the back vowels *a*, *o*, *u* and consonants, usually before the front vowel *æ*, *e* and *y* and in the groups *ng* and *gg*, it had the sound of N E *g* in *good*

Examples are *galan*, to sing, *gold*, gold, *gōs*, goose; *gēs*, geese; *gylden*, golden, *grēne*, green, *frogga*, frog, *singan*, to sing, *lang*, long.

For further details the student is referred to § 72.

(d) *h* was an aspirate initially before vowels and in the groups *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, as in *habban*, to have, *hlīman*, to lean; *hnesce*, soft; *hrīnan*, to touch. It had the sound of the *ch* in Scotch *loch* in the groups *hw* and *ht*, when doubled and when final.

Examples are *hwæt*, what, *hwīt*, white. *niht*, night, *hlīehhan*, to laugh, *bōh*, bough.

In the group *hs* (written *x*), *h* had the sound of *k* as in *fox*, *fox*; *weaxan*, to grow.

(e) *r* was strongly trilled as in modern Scotch.

(f) *w*. The u-nal symbol for *w* was the runic *ƿ* (called *wēn*), but in early texts the writings *u*, *uu*, occur.

In this grammar, as in others, the symbol *w* is used.

In Old English every consonant of a word was pronounced. There were no mute consonants as in N E *gnaw*, *know*, *bough*.

ACCENTUATION

§ 5 The general rule in Old English is, as in all Germanic languages, that words of more than one syllable, whether compounds or inflected forms, throw the chief accent on to the first syllable, which is usually the root syllable. In nouns and adjectives this is with very few exceptions the case, even when the first syllable of the compound is a prefix. Examples are.—

(a) With the first syllable a prefix.—

ānðefn, proportion, *ānðziet*, intelligence; *āndsaca*, enemy;
andweald, authority; *æfēst*, envy, *æfþunca*, grudge;
foreþanc, forethought

(b) Compounds of two independent words.—

Cýnewulf, proper name, *horshwæl*, walrus, *mōdwīanc*,
 proud. *wordhord*, store of words

(c) Nouns and adjectives formed with suffixes, inflectional or formative.—

brōðor, brother, *cýning*, king, *dæges*, gen. of day, *hālīȝ*,
 holy, *wéorðan*, to become.

Verbs compounded with prefixes, however, keep the accent on the root syllable as in *āþencean*, to *devise*, *ofþyncan*, to *grudge*, *onȝietan*, to *perceive*, *onsācan*, to *attack*; *ofþéallan*, to *fall away*, *forbærnan*, to *burn up*, *forlēosan*, to *lose*

The prefixes *be-*, *ȝe-*, and *for-* never take the accent, whether used with nouns, adjectives or verbs. In all such formations the accent remains on the root syllable in nouns and adjectives, as in *bebód*, *command*, *begáng*, *circuit*, *behát*, *command*, *forwýrd*, *destruction*, *ȝebéd*, *prayer*, *ȝeféra*, *companion*, *ȝesúnd*, *healthy*; beside the corresponding verbs, *bebēodan*, *ȝebiddan*, etc.

§ 6 Before entering on the study of the Old English vowels and consonants and their development from those of Indo-Germanic, some knowledge of the nature of those vowels and consonants and of the way in which they are formed is essential. While any detailed treatment of them in this way is outside the scope of this grammar, the following very general remarks are offered to any readers who are unable to obtain more definite instruction in the subject

THE FORMATION OF CONSONANTS

(a) A *consonant* is formed either by complete closure of the breath passage at some given point or by such partial closure as to cause definite friction against the walls of the breath passage.

In the first case the result is a *Stop Consonant*, such as *b, d, t, k*. From the slight explosion of breath which takes place when the stoppage is removed these consonants are also called *explosives*.

In the second case the result is a *spirant*, as for example *f, þ, s*, or the sound of the *ch* in Scotch *loch*.

Other names for spirants are *open consonants* and *continuants*.

(b) Both explosives and spirants may be *voiceless* or *voiced*. If formed without vibration of the vocal chords of the glottis they are *voiceless*, but if the breath sets the vocal chords vibrating they are *voiced*. Another term for voiceless consonants is *breath*. Examples of voiceless consonants are, *p, f, t*; of voiced, *g, v, d*.

(c) The determining factor in the formation of most consonants is the relative position of tongue and palate

(1) If the back of the tongue is raised towards the back or soft palate, we get (*g*) and (*k*) or *c*. There is, however, a possibility of slight variation of sound, according to whether *g* and *k* stand in combination with one of the back vowels *a, o, u* or with a front

vowel, such as *e* or *i*. In the second case they are formed further forward under the palate than in the first.

If the middle of the tongue is raised towards the front palate and the point curved downwards we get the *ç* of modern English and the *ȝ* of Old English (§§ 4, *c* and 72, 4). The corresponding stop consonants existed also in E O E, the voiceless in E O E. *c* (§§ 4, *b* and 70, 1), and the voiced in *cg* (§§ 4, *c* and 72, 1).

For these sounds, generally distinguished hitherto as guttural or palatal, the term *guttural* has been given up here as misleading, since they are not formed in the throat. The term *palatal* has, however, been retained and applied to all, whether formed under the back or front of the palate. They are not the only consonants formed under the palate, but the term is a convenient one for distinguishing them from dentals and labials, old names which are also retained for convenience.

The palatals are here distinguished as *back* and *front* according to their place of articulation, and the back palatals are further divided into *back* (1) and *back* (2). Thus *c* in N E *cool*, or O E *cōl*, *g* in N E *go*, or O E *gān*, *to go*, are back (1) palatals; *k* in N E *kin*, *ċ* in O E. *cynn*, *g* in N E *geese* or O E *gēs*, are back (2) palatals; *y* in N E *young*, *ȝ* in O E *ȝiefan*, *to give*, *c* in E O E *ceorl*, *churl*, *cg* in E O E *secgan*, *to say*, are front palatals.

(2) If the blade of the tongue (the part immediately behind the point) is used we get *s* and *z*.

/ If the point is raised to the palate just behind the teeth we get *d* and *t*; if against the upper teeth the result is *þ* or *ð*.

For these consonants the customary term *dental* has been kept.

(3) If the stoppage or friction take place still further forward between the lower lip and upper teeth we get the *labial spirants* *f* and *v*, and if through the two lips the result is the *labial stop consonants* *p* and *b*.

(4) If in addition to these activities the nasal passage is opened, *nasal consonants* result and we get a labial *m*, a dental *n*, and a palatal *ɲ*, the sound heard in N E *sing*.

THE FORMATION OF VOWELS

§ 7 If neither complete closing of the breath passage nor definite friction against its walls takes place, the result is a *vowel* such as *a*, *e*, *o*.

(a) Of the vowels, *a*, *o*, *u*, are formed by raising the back of the

tongue towards the back or soft palate, æ, e, i, by raising the front part towards the front or hard palate. For e the tongue is raised higher than for æ; to form i it is raised still higher, hence æ can pass into e, but not directly into i.

The back of the tongue is raised higher for u than for o or for a.

If the front vowel i is pronounced with rounding of the lips the result is u (the u in French *juste*), written y in O E, the lips are also rounded to form the back vowel u; hence y passes back easily into u or by unrounding into i.

If a is formed with rounding of the lips we get o; e modified in the same way gives œ (the o in German *können*)

(b) In every syllable it is the vowel which bears the accent. It may be the first or second vowel of a *diphthong*, and a diphthong may be defined as the combination of an accented or sonantal with an unaccented or con-sonantal vowel. If it is the first vowel which is accented it is called a *falling diphthong*, if the second, it is called a *rising diphthong*. Thus in N E *fear*, which is pronounced *fɪə*, with a long accented i and a light glide after it, we have a falling diphthong, another example is N E *day*, which is now pronounced *dei*, with a very light i after the e. On the other hand, in N E *new*, *few*, which we pronounce *njú*, *fjú*, we have a rising diphthong. In O E all diphthongs were accented on the first element.

(c) A liquid or nasal may play the part of a vowel if there is no true vowel in the syllable. It is then called a *vocalic* or *sonant liquid* or *nasal*. Examples are O E *māþm*, *tr̥asur̥e*, *reʃn*, *rarn*, *tācn*, *token*, or the N E *blossom*, *fathom*, *heathen*, *sickle*, *table*, in which all that is really heard in the second syllable is a sonant l, m, or n. Such liquids and nasals are written phonetically *l̥*, *m̥*, *n̥*.

THE SYLLABLE

§ 8 An *open syllable* is one which ends in a vowel, such as *he*, *foe*; a *close syllable* is one which ends in a consonant, such as *can*, *wall*. In dissyllabic or polysyllabic words, a syllable is open in which the vowel is followed by one medial consonant only, since that consonant belongs to the next syllable, if, however, the vowel is followed by more than one consonant, the syllable is close, since the first consonant belongs to it and closes it. Thus the vowels *ā* in O E *snā*, *snow*, and its gen *snawes*, and *æ* in *dæges*, *gen*,

sing of *dæ*₅, *day*, are in open syllables, but in *dæ*₃, *day*, *heard*, *hand*, gen sing *heardes*, the *æ* and *ea* are in close syllables

A *long syllable* is one containing a long vowel, as in *wis*, *wise*, or a short vowel followed by two consonants, as in *hand*, *hand*. All others are *short*.

SOUND CHANGE

§ 9 A *sound law* is the change in pronunciation of some vowel or consonant or set of vowels or consonants resulting from a general tendency among the speakers of a language in a definite area and for a definite period ✓

All words containing such a vowel or consonant already in the language must be affected, but any introduced after the tendency has ceased will not be influenced, since the sound law has ceased to work

Thus at an early period of Old English an *e*, as seen in the Old High German verb *neman*, to take, became *i* before *m*, giving the O E form *niman* ✓ At the same time the Latin *mentha*, already borrowed, became O E *mynte*, N E *mint*, but the Latin *templum*, borrowed at a later period, retained its *e* in O E *tempel*. ✓

Sound laws may be classified as *isolative* and *combinative*. An isolative change is one which takes place independently of position, as when Indg *ā*, as seen in Latin *māter*, *frāter*, became Germ *ō* as in O E *mōdor*, *brōðor*; or when at a later period O.E. *ā* became M E and N E *ō* as in O.E. *hām*, *blāwan*, N E *home*, *blow*.

A combinative change is one which takes place in combination with another sound, preceding or following, and is due to the fact that neighbouring sounds act and react upon each other. Thus the pronunciation of N E *Berks*, and *Heits*, with *a* instead of the *e* written, is due to the neighbourhood of the *g*; the difference in pronunciation of the *a* in *fall* and *fallow* is due to the influence of the final *l*, which is not shared by *a*^{medial} *l*.

An example of a combinative change in O E is the verb *weorðan*, to become, with *eo*, beside the *e* in O H G. *werdan*. Here the *eo* has arisen from an older *e* by the influence of the *-rð*. (See Breaking, § 30)

Exceptions to sound laws are due to counteracting or modifying influences. A minor sound law may modify the working of a larger one. For example, Germ *a* regularly becomes *æ* in O E in close syllables, as in O.E. *dæ*₃, beside O H G. *tac*, *day*; but O.E. *a* has

remained, though in a close syllable, before a doubled consonant followed by a back vowel as in O E *stagga*, *stag*.

But by far the most general cause of exceptions is the universal tendency to *analogical formation*. All speakers form word associations in their own minds which may or may not be justified, and the forms of words are frequently modified in accordance with those associations. The student must always be prepared for examples of this tendency.

Thus we now associate the idea of the plural with the ending -es, or -s, and we therefore form many plurals in -s which in O E had other endings. The tendency to this analogical formation had begun already in O E for all masculine nouns, when a noun *hād*, *nature*, *rank*, made a plural *hādas*, instead of its right form *hāda*.

Another instance of analogical formation is when the O E *hwæl*, *whale*, which should have a gen. sing. *hwæles* and a nom. pl. *hwalas*, appears in the gen. sing. as *hwales* from a wrong association with the plural instead of with the nominative singular.

Sound laws are unconscious changes, which in the unfettered development of a language are continually modified by conscious or semi-conscious mental processes on the part of the speakers.

CHAPTER II

THE VOWELS OF ACCENTED SYLLABLES

I

THE TREATMENT OF INDO-GERMANIC VOWELS IN GERMANIC

§ 10. The Indo-Germanic vowel system was as follows:—

Short	a, e, i, o, u, ə (1). ✓
Long	ā, ē, ī, ō, ū. ✓
Diphthongs	{ Short ai, ei, oi, au, eu, ou. ✓ Long āi, ēi, ōi, āu, ēu, ōu. ✓
Vocalic Liquids and Nasals	m, n, ŋ, l, r, i (2).

Note 1.—The sound of ə is not certain, but it may be taken as approximately that of the e in N.E. *better*. In Indg it occurred in unaccented syllables only. In Germ its history varied according to whether the syllable remained unaccented or took the accent.

Note 2.—Liquids and Nasals playing the part of vowels are written m, n, etc., in order to distinguish them from those used as consonants (§ 7, c).

§ 11 Of these vowels, ā, ē, ī, ū, ō, ū, remained unchanged in the earliest Primitive Germanic period.

Examples are —

- a Lat. *ager*, Grk. *ἀγρός*, Goth. *akrs*, O.E. *æcer*, *acer*, *field*; Lat. *habēō*, Goth. *haban*, O.E. *habban*, *to have*
- e Lat. *edō*, Grk. *ἔδομαι*, O.E. *etan*, *to eat*, Lat. *vertō*, O.H.G. *werdan*, O.E. *weorðan*, *to become*; Lat. *ferō*, Grk. *φέρω*, O.E. *beran*, *to bear*.
- i Lat. *piscis*, Goth. *fisks*, O.E. *fisc*, *fish*; Lat. *vīvus*, Goth. *qius*, O.E. *cwicu*, *quick*, *alive*.
- u Grk. *θύρα*, O.E. *duru*, *door*.
- i Lat. *suīnus* (adj.), O.E. *swīn*, *swine*; Lat. *velimus*, Goth. *wileima* (ei = i), *if we will*

- ō Grk. Dor. *ρός*, Goth. *fōtus*, O E. *fōt*, *foot*, Grk. *ἔρω*, O E *rōw*, *peace*.
 ū Grk. *μῦς*, Lat *mūs*, O.E *mūs*, *mouse*; Lat. *rūs*, *country*, O E *rūm*, *room*, *space*.

ISOLATIVE CHANGES

- § 12 o, ɔ, ā, ē, were modified.
 o became a in accented syllables, as Lat *hostis*, Goth *gasts*, O E *ziest*, *quest*, from older **gastiz* (§§ 27, 32, 34); Lat *quod*, Goth. *hva*, O.E *hwæt*, *what* (§ 27).
 ɔ became a in Germanic as in Greek and Latin, but i in Sanskrit. Thus Indg. *pəter* is Grk. *πατήρ*, Lat. *pater*, Goth *fadar*, O E. *fæder*, *father*, but Skr. *pitar*.
 ā became ō, as Lat. *fāgus*, *beech*, Grk Dor *φᾱγός*, *kind of oak*, O E *bōc*, *beech*, Lat *māter*, Grk Dor *μήτηρ*, O E *mōdor*, *mother*.
 ē became æ, which then later became ā in the W Germ dialects, as Grk. *θήσω*, *I shall place*, O H G. *tāt*, O E *dæd*, *deed* (§ 28), Lat *sēmen*, O H G *sāt*, O E *sæd*, *seed*.
 § 13 The same rules apply to the vowels occurring in diphthongs
 ai (Lat. *æ*) remained, as Indg. **ais*, Lat *æs*, Goth *áiz*, O E *ār*, *ær*, *brass*, *copper*, Grk *αἰών*, *etern*, *lifetime*, Lat *ævum*, Goth *aiws*, O E *ā*, *ever* (§ 23)
 au remained, as Lat. *augere*, Goth *áukan*, *to increase*; O E *ēac*, *also* (§ 24).
 ou became au, as Lat *auris*, Goth *áuso*, O E *ēare*, *ear* (§ 24)
 oi became ai, as Grk *οἶδε*, Goth *wáit*, O E. *wāt*, *knows*, Old Lat *oinos*, later *ūnus*, Goth *áins*, O E *ān*, *one* (§ 23)
 ou became au, as Indg. **gegousa*, *has tested*, Goth *káus*, O E *cēas*, *chose* (§ 24), Grk. *ἀκούσας*, *heard*, Goth *gaháusjan*, O E *hieran*, *to hear*.
 ei became ī, as Lat *dīcō*, older **deicō*, *I say*, Goth. *ga-teihan*, *to relate*, O.H G. *zīhan*, *to accuse*; Grk *ορεῖχω*, *I go*, O E *stiġan*, *to ascend*.
 The Indg. long diphthongs were shortened in Germanic and need therefore no separate treatment.
 § 14 Indg. *m̥*, *n̥*, become Germ. *um*, *un*, as Indg. **bhgdhgt̥*, Goth *bundun*, O E *bundon*, 3rd person plur pret. indic. of *bindan*, *to bind*, Indg *kmtom*, Lat *centum*, O E *hund*, *a hundred*.
 Indg *l̥*, *ḡ*, became Germ. *ul*, *lu*, *ur*, *ru*, respectively, as Indg.

**plnós*, Lat *plēnus*, Goth *fulls*, O E *full*, *full*, Indg **ulqós*, Lith *vilkas*, Goth *wulfs*, O E *wulf*, *wolf*, Indg *kþpnt*, Goth *hulpan*, 3rd person plur pret indic. of *helpan*, to *help*

Note.—Of this origin is the *u* in the stem of the preterite plural indicative and of the preterite subjunctive of all verbs of the 3rd class of strong verbs (§ 162), as in O E *bruzdon*, *brandishd*, *snatchd*, *curfon*, *carred*; *hulpon*, *helped*, etc.

COMBINATIVE CHANGES

§ 15 Later than these isolative changes, certain combinative changes took place during the Primitive Germanic period. These affected *e*, *i*, and *u*, whether standing alone or in a diphthong.

e became *i*:—

(1) Before a nasal followed by another consonant. Examples are Indg **bhendhonom* (cf Lat *offendimentum*, *chin-cloth*), Goth. and O E *bindan*, to *bind*, Lat *ventus*, Goth *winds*, O E *wind*, *wind*

(2) Before an *i* or *j* in the following syllable, as Lat. *medius*, Goth *midjis*, O E *midd*, *mid*, Lat *sedere*, O E. *sittan* from an older **setjan*, to *sit*. Further examples are O E *cwide*, *speech*, from older **cwediz* from the root of *cweðan*, to *speak*, E O E *hilpist*, *hilpið*, 2nd and 3rd pers sing pres indic of *helpan*, to *help*, from older **heipisi*, **heipipi*.

Note.—This law explains why strong verbs of the third class (§ 162) like *bindan*, to *bind*, *climban*, to *climb*, which have stems ending in a nasal and another consonant, have *i*, while others such as *delfan*, to *delve*, *helpan*, to *help*, have *e* for the stem vowel. It also explains why strong verbs of the 3rd, 4th, and 5th classes (§ 162 ff) have an *i* in the stem in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing of the pres. indic beside an *e* in the other forms of the present, as in *birest*, *bireð*, *hilpest*, *hilpeð*, beside the infinitives *beran* and *helpan* (§ 153, a).

§ 16 *i* became *e* in most Germanic languages before *ä*, *ö*, *ë*, unless a nasal followed by another consonant, or an *i* or *j* came between, but only two examples are found in O E. Those are *nest*, *nest*, from earlier **nestaz*, Lat *nidus*, Indg. **nizdos*, and *wer*, *man*, from earlier **weraz*, Lat. *vir*, Indg. **wiros*.

§ 17. *u* became *o* before *ä*, *ö*, *ë*, in the next syllable, unless a nasal followed by another consonant, or an *i* or *j* came between.

Examples are: Grk *θυγάτηρ*, O E *dohtor*, *daughter*, Prim Germ **hulpenaz*, later **holpenaz*, O E *holpen*, past part of *helpan*, *to help*, beside the pret plur Prim Germ *hulpun*, O E *hulpon* (§ 14).

Note 1.—This law explains why most strong verbs of the 2nd and 3rd classes (§§ 161-166) which have *u* in the pret plur indic. have *o* in the past part. while those of the 3rd class, like *findan*, *to find*, have *u* before the nasal + consonant. It also explains the connection with later *i* mutation of *u* to *y* (§ 84) between the *o* and *y* seen in many pairs of related words. Examples are. O E. *bycgan*, *to buy*, from Prim. Germ. **buġanan*, but *bohte*, *bought*, from Prim. Germ. **buhta*; O E *god*, *god*, from Prim Germ. **zuðam*, but *gyden*, *goddess*, from **zuðinjō*; O E. *gold*, *gold*, from Prim. Germ. **gulþam*, but *gylden*, *golden*, from **gulþinaz*. Other examples are *fox*, *fox*, and *fyxen*, *vixen*; *oter*, *otter*, the noun, and *yteren*, the adjective, *wyrcan*, *to work*, and *worhte*, *wrought*.

Note 2.—Since Indg. *o* became Germ *a* (§ 12), every Germ. *o* must be of this origin.

§ 18 It will be seen that all the laws formulated in §§ 15-17 rest upon the same principle of assimilation, with the result that the high vowels, the front *i* and the back *u*, are found before a nasal + a consonant or an *i* or *j*, and *u* is found before *u*, while the lower vowels, the front *e* and the back *o*, are found in other positions *i* however, unlike *u*, is not affected regularly by a following *ē*. Hence in past participles O E has *holpen*, *helped*, with *o* for earlier *u*, but *biten*, *bitten*, *writen*, *written*, etc, with *i* retained.

§ 19. *eu* became *iu* (*iu*, later *ie* in O E, § 26, 31) before a following *i* or *j*, as Prim Germ **deupaz*, O E *dēop*, *dip*, but Prim. Germ **deupjanan*, later **diupjanan*, O.E. *diepan*, *to baptize, immerse*, Prim Germ. **freusanan*, O.E. *frēosan*, *to freeze*, but Prim Germ. **freusipi*, later **friusip*, O E. *frēseð*, *friest*, *freezes*.

§ 20 Rather later than these qualitative changes came one affecting quantity. *n* fell before a following *χ* (*h* with the sound of *ch* in Scotch *loch*), with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (see § 63). Examples are: Lat *linquo*, *I leave*, Germ **linχwanan* > **liχwanan*, Goth *leit-an*, O E *lēon*, for **lihan* (§ 73), *to lend*, Lat. *pango*, *I fasten*, Germ **fanχanan* > **fāhanan*, Goth *fāhan*, O E. *fōn*, for **fōhan*, *to seize*; Germ **penχanan* > **pīnχanan* (§ 15) > *pīhanan*, Goth. *þeihan*, O E *þēon*, for **þihan*, *to*

prosper, Old Lat *tongeo*, *I know*, Germ **þankjanan*, O E *þencean* (§ 34), *to think*, but pret **þanχta* > *þāhta*, Goth *þāhta*, O E *þōhte* (§ 29, 1), *thought*, Germ **þunkjanan*, Goth *þunkjan*, O E *þyncean* (§ 34), *to appear*, but pret Goth *þūhta*, O E *þūhte*, *it appeared*

Note 1.—From what has been said in §§ 15-17, it is clear that *a*, *i*, and *u*, were the only short vowels which could stand before -*nχ* and thus be lengthened to *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, respectively.

Note 2—Since Indg. *ā* had become *ō* (§ 12) every Germ. *ā* must be due to this law.

§ 21 During the Primitive Germanic period an *ē* came into the language in a few words. This *ē* must be kept distinct from Indg *ē*, Prim Germ *æ* (§ 12). It is preserved in three words in O E. These are *mēse*, *table* (Lat *mensa*), and *hēr*, *here*; *mēd*, *reward*, in which it is of uncertain origin.

II

THE TREATMENT OF GERMANIC VOWELS IN OLD ENGLISH

§ 22 The Germanic vowel system underwent great modifications in Old English, due in some degree to isolative, but chiefly to combinative changes.

It may be of use to the student to point out that Germanic diphthongs always yielded long vowels or diphthongs in Old English. Hence while O E long diphthongs may be of this origin or may be later developments due to the action of O E sound laws, short diphthongs are invariably the results of the latter. ✓

ISOLATIVE CHANGES

§ 23 All the Germ diphthongs were modified in passing into Old English.

ai became *ā*, as Goth. *áins*, O E *ān*, *one*; Goth. *bait*, O.E. *bāt*, pret of *bítan*, *to bite*; Goth *stáins*, O E *stān*, *stone*.

§ 24 *au* became *ēa*, as Goth *báuþ*, O E *bēad*, *commanded*; Goth *háubiþ*, O E *hēafod*, *head*, Goth *láufs*, O E *lēaf*, *leaf*.

§ 25 *eu* became *ēo*, as Germ **beuðan*, Goth *biudan*, O E *bēodan*, *to command*, Germ **deupaz*, Goth *diups*, O E *dēop*, *deep*, Germ **þeubaz*, Goth. *þiufs*, O E *þēof*, *thief*.

§ 26 *iu* became *īo*, as Germ **liuŕiz*, O H G *liuti*, O.E. *līode*, *people*. In O E this *īo* was usually modified to *īe* (see *i* mutation, §§ 33, 34), since it occurred chiefly before *i* or *j* (§ 19). Thus Goth **liusiþ* is O E *cieseð*, *ciest*, *chooses*, Goth *liuhtjan* is O E *liehtan*,

to *lighten*. See also the examples given in § 19. When this modification did not take place, *io* usually became *ēo*, as O.E. *lēode*, older *liode*, *people*.

TREATMENT OF *ǣ*

§ 27. Germ. *a* became *ǣ* in O.E. (the sound in N.E. *bat*). Examples are: Goth. *dags*, O.E. *dæg*, *day*, O.H.G. *faz*, O.E. *fæt*, *væt*, *vessel*; Goth. *lag*, O.E. *læg*, *lay*, Goth. *hwæt*, O.E. *hwæt*, *what*, Goth. *was*, O.E. *wæs*, *was*, O.H.G. *aphul*, O.E. *æppel*, *apple*, Goth. *dagis*, O.E. *dæges*, gen. sing. of *dæg*, Goth. *fadar*, O.E. *fæder*, *father*; Goth. *fagrs*, O.E. *fæger*, *fair*, O.H.G. *wazzer*, O.E. *wæter*, *water*.

This *ǣ* went back again however to *a* in open syllables if followed by a back vowel (*a*, *o*, *u*), or before doubled consonants and the groups *sc* and *st*, if followed originally by a back vowel. Examples in open syllables are *caru*, *care*, *dagas*, plur. of *dæg*, *days*, *fatu*, plur. of *fæt*, *vessels*, *faran*, *to fare*, before doubled consonants *abbod*, *abbot*; *assa*, *ass*, *catte*, *cat*, *hassuc*, *coarse grass*, *mattoc*, *mattock*, *sacc*, *sack*, before *sc*, *st*: *flasce*, *flask*, *wascan*, *to wash*.

§ 28. W. Germ. *ā*, Prim. Germ. *ǣ* (§ 12), became *ǣ* in O.E. Examples are: O.H.G. *bātun*, O.E. *bædon*, *they prayed*, O.H.G. *sāt*, O.E. *sæd*, *seed*, O.H.G. *stālun*, O.E. *stælon*, *they stole*. O.E. *ǣ* went back to *ā* before *w*, as O.H.G. *blāen*, O.E. *blāwan*, *to blow*, O.H.G. *knāen*, O.E. *cnāwan*, *to know*, O.H.G. *sāhun*, O.E. *sāwon*, *they saw*.

ā is found also in a few words before *g* and *l* if a back vowel followed, as O.H.G. *lāgun*, O.E. *lāgon*, *they lay*, O.E. *māzas*, plur. of *mæg* *kinsman*, *sālum*, dat. plur. of *sæl*, *opportunity*. The *ǣ* is, however, often introduced into these forms from those in which it was regular, thus O.E. *lægon*, *mæzas*, *sælum* are common, formed on the analogy of the subjunctive *lægen* and the nom. sing. *mæg*, *sæl*.

INFLUENCE OF NASALS

§ 29. This is of twofold character, affecting quality and quantity.

(1) Affecting quality —

(a) Germ. *a* was rounded before a nasal to an *o* sound, written sometimes *o* and sometimes *a*, as Goth. *mannā*, O.E. *mōnn*, or *mann*, *man*, Goth. *nama*, O.E. *noma*, or *nama*, *name*, Goth. *wann*, O.E. *wōnn*, or *wann*, *fought*. See Chap. I, § 2, Note 2, for the probable sound of this *o*.

The O E MSS show great irregularity in the writing for Germ. a before a nasal. In the earliest texts a is usual, later in the ninth century a and o both occur, but o is more frequent than a. Still later, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, both are still found, but a has become more common than o. This fact, taken in connection with the Middle English and modern forms, such as M E nāme, N E name; M E mann, N E man, which generally keep the a, points to a return to a in sound in most dialects at the end of the O E period.

Germ a before a nasal followed by f, s, or þ was further developed to ō by the loss of the nasal, as in O E gōs, *goose*, O H G gans; O E hōs, *company*, Goth hansa; O E tōþ, *tooth*, O H G zand (see below 2, Note 1).

(b) Germ ē became i before m in native words, as O H G nēman, O E niman, *to take*, and before m or n in Latin loan words, as Lat gemma, O E gim, *gem*, Lat mentha, O E mint, *mint*, Lat pensare, O E pinsian, *to consider*. But e remained before n in native words, as Germ *denō, O E deņu, *valley*, O H G quēna, O E cwene, *woman*, *queen*.

Note.—Words like tempel, *temple*, spendan, *to spend*, are apparent exceptions only, having been borrowed later from Latin, after this law had ceased to work.

(c) Germ ō became ū before all nasals, as O H G komān, *choman*, O E cūman, *to come*, O H G honag, O E hūniz, *honey*; O H G ginoman, O E genumen, *taken*.

(d) W Germ ā, Goim æ (§ 12), became ō, as O H G mānō, O E mōna, *moon*, O H G nāmun, O E nōmon, *they took*, O H G quāmun, O E c(w)ōmon, *they came*.

(e) Prim Germ ā from anχ (§ 20) also became ō, as Goth fāhan, O E *fōhan, later fōn, *to seize*, Goth pāhta, O E pōhte, *thought*.

(f) ē became ī in Late Lat pēna, O E pīn, *torment*.

(2) Affecting quantity —

Germanic i and u which occurred before a nasal and another consonant (§§ 15-17) were lengthened to ī and ū in compensation for the loss of the nasal if the following consonant was a spirant (f, s, þ). Examples are Goth fimf, O E fif, *five*; Goth sinþs, O E sīþ, *journey*, *time*, Goth., O H G. uns, O E. ūs, *us*.

Note 1.—For the similar lengthening of *o* see above, 1 (a).

Note 2.—A comparison with §§ 15-17 will show that the influence of a nasal upon a preceding vowel in O E was of the same character as that in Prim Germ., but stronger and of wider scope. In O E it fell before other spirants than *χ* and most vowels were affected.

Note 3.—This law explains the vowels of the verbs *niman*, *to take*, and *cuman*, *to come*, beside those of the regular verbs of the fourth class of strong verbs (§ 167, 2) such as *beran*, *to bear*.

BREAKING

§ 30. By this term is meant the breaking up of a single vowel into a diphthong, a process which took place before certain consonants and groups of consonants.

The law may be formulated. In passing from the front vowels *æ*, *ē*, *ī* to certain back consonants a back vowel glide was developed, which formed a diphthong with the original vowel. The consonants producing this effect were *h*, or *h* + cons, *l* + cons, and *r* + cons. The diphthongs which resulted were *ēa*, *ēo*, *īo*.

The vowels were not, however, affected equally and must therefore be taken separately. West Saxon only is considered here. For the working of Breaking in the Anglian and Kentish dialects the student is referred to § 47.

§ 31. *æ* was broken to *ea* before all groups and before single *h*. Examples are Goth *alþeis*, O E *eald*, *old*, Goth *halp*, O E *healp*, *helped*, Goth *hardus*, O E *heard*, *hard*, Goth. *warþ*, O E *wearþ*, *became*, O H G *faht*, O E *feaht*, *fought*, Goth *sah*, O E *scah*, *saw*. *e* was broken to *eo* before *lh*, *r* + cons, *h* + cons and *h*, and perhaps before *lc*. Examples are. O H G *felhan*, Goth *filhan*, O E *fēolan*, older **feolhan* (§§ 39, c and 73), *to enter, adhere to*, O H G *melcan*, O E *meolcan*, *to milk*, O H G. *werdan*, O E *weorðan*, *to become*, O H G *sehs*, O E *seox*, later *six* (§ 36, a), *six*, O H G *feho*, O E *feoh*, *property, money*.

i was broken to *iu*, which became *io*, and later *eo* before *r* + cons, *h* + cons, and *h*. Examples are O H G. *lirnēn*, O E *liornian*, *leornian*, *to learn*; Germ. **mihstus*, Goth *maihstus*, O E *miox*, *meox*, *manure*.

Note.—Examples of the breaking of *i* are rare, because in most cases the diphthong was later modified by *i* mutation (§§ 33, 34).

æ was broken to *ēa* before *h* only, as in Germ **nēh*, O H G *nāh*, O E *nēah*, *near*, Germ **nēahor*, O E *nēar*, *nearer*

i was broken to *iū*, which became *io*, later *ēo*, before *h* and *h* + cons, as in Germ **lihtaz*, Goth *leihts*, O E *lioht*, *lēoht*, *light* (adj.), Germ **þilan*, Goth. *þethan*, O E *þēon*, for older **þēohan*, *to prosper*, O E imperative *þēoh*, older **þīh*, from the same verb

Note 1.—Breaking explains the variety of form in subdivisions 2 and 3 of Class III of strong verbs (§§ 164, 165), according as their stems ended in *l* + cons, *r* + cons, or *h* + cons, and the *ēo* in certain verbs of Class I (§ 160, c).

Note 2.—The explanation of Breaking is to be found in the nature of the sounds affected. *h* was a back spirant; *r* was pronounced by the tip of the tongue being turned back towards the hard palate, which gave it a certain back or guttural quality, *l* had something of the same quality. The transition from a front vowel to a back consonant was eased by the introduction of the glide, since it was easier to pass first from a front to a back vowel and thence to a back consonant. This glide was probably *u*, which formed a diphthong with the preceding vowel, then *æu* > *ea*; *eu* > *eo*; *iu* > *io*; *æu* > *ēa*; *iu* > *io*, with the same development as that of the Germ. diphthongs (§§ 24-26), except that short diphthongs arose from earlier short vowels.

Note 3.—Breaking is later than the fronting of Germ. *a* and *ā* to *æ* and *ē*.

Note 4.—Another term often used for Breaking is Fracture.

DIPHTHONGIZATION AFTER *z*, *c*, *sc*

§ 32 Between the initial front consonants *z*, whether representing Germ *z* or *j* (§§ 72, 4, 74), *c* (§ 70, 1) and *sc* (§ 71), and the following front vowels *æ*, *ē*, *e*, *ē*, when original (i.e. not the result of *i* mutation, §§ 33, 34), a glide was developed in O E. The result was the formation of the diphthongs *ea*, *ēa*, *ie*, *ie*, respectively. At first these were rising diphthongs with the accent still on the original vowel, later the accent was thrown back on to the glide and the diphthong became falling.

Thus Germ **zefan*, *to give*, became O E. *ziefan*, then *ziefan*, and finally in late O E *zifan*, with the glide alone left (§ 36, c). If, however, *æ*, *e*, *ē*, were due to *i* mutation, no diphthongization took place. Examples are,—

- æ: Lat *castra*, O E *cæster (§ 27) > ceaster, *city*, O Sax *zæt*, O E *zæt > zeat, *gate*, Goth *skal*, O E *scæl > sceal, *shall*
 æ: Germ *jær, O H G jār (§ 12), O E *zær > zear, *year*, Germ *zæbun, O H G gābun, O E *zæfon > zæfon, *they gave*, Germ *scæp, O H G scāf, O E *scæp > scēap, *sheep*
 e: Lat *cerasum*, O E cieres, *cherry-tree*, O H G geban, O E ziefan, *to give*, Germ *sceran, O E scieran, *to shear*, *cut*
 ē: Germ *zēt, O E ziet, *yet*

It is undecided whether in forms such as *zeoc*, *yoke*, from Germ. *jok, Goth *juk*; *zeong*, *young*, O H G *jung*; *scēadan*, *to divide*, oldor *scādan*, Goth *skáidan*; *sceort*, *short*, oldor *scort, in which a back vowel followed Germ *j*, *sc*, the writings *eo*, *ēa*, represent true diphthongs or not.

Note 1.—Since the development of the glide was due to the quality of the consonant, and *j* and *sc* were front consonants in O E in all positions, it would be logical to conclude that all vowels, back or front, were diphthongized after them. As a rule, however, the later language preserves the original vowel only in these cases, as in N E *yoke*, *young*, *short*. Many scholars consider, therefore, that the *e* was merely a writing to distinguish the *z* for Germ *j* (§ 74) from that from Germ *z*, and the native front *sc* from that introduced from Scandinavian, which was a back consonant. On the other hand, since diphthongization was almost restricted to West Saxon, the explanation may be that the later forms are developed from other dialects.

Note 2.—Diphthongization is later than Breaking

I MUTATION (UMLAUT)

§ 33. By *i* mutation is meant the modification of a vowel or diphthong which had been followed originally by an *i*, *ī*, or *j*. By the O E time the *i* and *j* had either disappeared or come to be represented by *e*, their original existence being traced by the influence left on the vowel

i mutation is one of the most important of the O E sound laws, nearly all vowels being modified by it. It will be seen from what follows that its influence is always towards bringing the original vowel nearer towards the position required for forming *i* or *j*, the result being a fronting or a raising of that vowel. Thus a back vowel such as *ā* becomes *æ* or a front vowel *æ* is raised to *e*.

§ 34 The following are the results of *i* mutation —

a became *æ*, as Germ **fariþ*, O E *færeð*, *fare*, (see below, Note 1).

æ (Germ. *a*, § 27) became *e*, as Goth *agis*, O E **æsi* > *e*se, *fear*, Goth *hari* (acc. sing.), O E *hæri* > *here*, *army*, Goth *lagjan*, O E **læcgan* > *lēcgan*, *to lay*, Goth *marei*, O E **mæri* > *mere*, *sea*

ā became *ē*, as Goth *bráidei*, O E **brādi* (§ 23), > *brædu*, *breadth*; Goth *hailjan*, O E **hāl(j)an* > *hælan*, *to heal*; Goth. (ur)raisjan, O E **rār(j)an* > *ræran*, *to raise*

o became *e* through the stage *œ*, as Germ **dohtri* > O.E *dœhter* > *dehter*, dat sing of *dohtor*, *daughter*, Germ **oxins* > O E *œxen* > *exen*, plur. of *oxa*, *ox* (see below, Note 2)

q from *a* + *nas.* became *e*, but in earlier texts *æ*. Examples are Germ plur **manniz* > O E *mænna* > *menn*, plur. of *mann*, *man*, Goth *maragei*, O E *mænigū* > *mēnigū*, *multitude*; Goth. *wandjan*, O E *wændan* > *wēndan*, *to turn*

ō became *ē* through the stage *œ*, as Goth *dōmjan*, O E. *dōēman* > *dēman*, *to judge*, Germ plur **fōtiz*, > O E *foet* > *fēt*, *feet*, Germ. **glōdiz* (from the root of *glōwan*, *to glow*) > O E *glēd* > *glēd*, *blue coal*; Goth *fāhiþ*, O E **fōhiþ* (§ 29, 1, *e*) > **iāhiþ* > *fēh*, *seizes* (3rd pers sing of *fōn*, § 40, 1 *b*), Goth. *ansts*, older **anstiz*, O E **onsti* > **osti* (§ 29, 1, *a*) > *ēst*, *favour*, O H G. *wān*, older **wāniz*, O E **wōn* (§ 29, 1, *d*) > *wān* > *wēn*, *hope*

u became *y*, as Goth *bugjan*, O E. *bycgan*, *to buy*, O.H.G. *kuning*, O E *cynning*, *king*

ū became *ȳ*, as Goth (ga)kunþjan, O E *cȳðan* (§ 29, 2), *to make known*, Germ plur **mūsiz*, O E *mȳs*, *mice*

ea became *ie*, as Goth *alpiza*, O E **ealdra* (§ 31) > *ieldra*, *elder*; Goth *arbi*, O E. **earfi* > *ierfe*, *inheritance*, Goth *gasts*, older **gastiz*, O E **geast* (§ 32) > *giest*, *guest*, *stranger*

ēa became *īe*, as Goth *hāuhiza*, O E **hēahra* > *hierra*, *higher*; Goth *gahausjan*, O E. **hēar(j)an* > *hieran*, *to hear*.

io became *ie*, as O H G *hirti*, O E **hiordi* (§ 31) > *hierde*, *herdsman*, O H G *wirdit*, O E **wiorðiū* > *wierþ*, *becomes*

io became *īe*, as Goth *kiusiþ*, O E **cīosið* (§ 26) > *cīest*, *chooses*; Goth *liuhtjan*, O E. **liōht(j)an* > *liehtan*, *to lighten*

Note 1 — Examples of the *i* mutation of *a* are necessarily rare since *a* early became *æ* before *i* and *j* (§ 27). In a few cases, however, the *a* was reintroduced from forms in which it had remained, and the *i* mutation of this *a* was then *æ*. Thus Germ.

**fariþ* gave O.E. *færeð*, then *fereð*, *fares*, with *i* mutation of *æ* to *e*, but a later formation **fariþ*, from the infin. *faran*, gave O.E. *færeð*, with *i* mutation of *a* to *æ*.

A few instances occur of a secondary *i* mutation of *a* to *æ* before a medial *e*, which is itself the result of this law. Examples are *æðele*, *noble*, *æðeling*, *prince*, *gæderian*, *to gather*, *hæleþ*, *man*, and a few others.

Note 2.—Examples of *i* mutation of *o* are also necessarily rare, since Germ. *u* remained except before *ä*, *ö*, *ë*, and therefore before *i* and *j* (§ 17). In a few words the *o* was borrowed before *i*, *j* from the forms in which it was regular, and the *i* mutation of this *o* was then *e*. Thus Prim Germ. **duhtri* (dat. sing.) should have given O.E. **dyhter*, *daughter*, O.E. *dehter* comes from an earlier **dohtri*, in which the *o* has been borrowed from the nom. *dohtor*.

Note 3.—For the same reason there can be no true *i* mutation of *eo* or *ëo*. *eo* arose chiefly by the breaking of *e* (§ 31), *ëo* is derived from *eu* (§ 25). From §§ 15 and 19 it is clear that neither *e* nor *eu* could remain before *i* or *j*, but that *e* must become *i* and *eu* must become *iu* in that position. Strictly speaking, therefore, *ie* is the mutation of *io*, the breaking of *i* (§ 31) and *ie* that of *io*, the modification of *iu* (§ 26); but for convenience *ie* is often, if inaccurately, called the *i* mutation of *ëo*.

Note 4.—*i* mutation is later than Nasal influence, Fronting of *ä* to *æ*, Breaking and Diphthongization, and modifies the results of those laws.

BACK OR GUTTURAL MUTATION (Ú, o/a UMLAUT)

§ 35 This law, which is often called *u, o/a Umlaut*, may be formulated thus. Before a back vowel (*u, o, a*), *a* was diphthongized to *ea*, *e* to *eo*, and *i* to *io*, which later became *eo*. Thus **aiu* > *ealu*, *ale*, **hefun* > *heorfon*, *heaven*, **herut* > *heorot*, *hart*, *sifun* > *seofon*, *seven*, **miluc* > *miol(u)c*, *meol(u)c*, *milk*, **siluif* > *siol(u)f(o)r*, *silver*, *hira* > *hiora*, *then*, *cilfian* > *cliofian*, *cleofian*, *to clean*. The working of this law can, however, only be illustrated fully in the dialects (§ 50), in W.S. it is restricted as follows:—

(1) Back mutation of *a* is only found in one example, *ealu*, *ale*, which is borrowed from Mercian.

(2) *e* was affected by *u* only; *i* alone being subject to both *u* and *o/a* mutation.

(3) The influence worked through certain consonants only; these were the labials **p, b, f, m**, and the liquids, **l, r**.

(4) Even when these conditions were present, if the diphthong was due to an inflectional ending, it was generally replaced by the simple vowel of the related forms. Thus the regular plural of **scip** would be **sciop**, and of **lim**, **liomu**. The plurals usually found are, however, **scipu**, **limu**, new formations from the singulars **scip** and **lim**. The diphthong was only kept regularly when it occurred in all forms of the word, as in **heofon**, *heaven*, plur **heofonas**, **heorot**, *hart*, gen **heorotes**, etc.

A few exceptional instances occur even in W.S. texts of back mutation working through a dental or palatal consonant if the stem vowel is preceded by **w**. Thus **widu**, *wood*, > **wiodu**, later **wudu**; **cwicu**, *alve*, > **cwioc**, later **cwucu**; **wita**, *counsellor*, > **wiota**. But these forms are perhaps not strict West Saxon, but borrowed (§ 50).

MONOPHTHONGIZATION

§ 36 During the O.E. period diphthongs, whether original or due to the influence of O.E. sound laws, were smoothed to monophthongs in certain positions.

(a) In E.W.S. the **eo** and **io**, which had arisen by breaking of **e** and **i** before **ht** and **hs**, were monophthongized to **y** or **i** through the stage **ie**. Examples are . O.H.G. **kneht**, O.E. ***cneoht** > **cneht** > **cniht**, *youth, servant*, O.H.G. **reht**, O.E. ***reoht** > **rieht** > **ryht** or **riht**, *right, law*, O.H.G. **sehs**, O.E. ***seoh** > **siex** > **syx** or **six**, *six*, early O.E. **Pihte** became later **Peohte**, **Pyhte** or **Pihte**, *Picts*.

On the same principle **ie** from **ea** by **i** mutation also became **i** before **ht**. Examples are Germ. nom. plur. ***nahtiz**, Goth. **nahts**, O.E. **niht**, *night*, through the stage **neaht** (§ 106), Germ. nom. sing. ***mahtiz**, Goth. **mahts**, O.E. **miht**, *night*, O.H.G. pret. sing. subjunctive, **mahtl**, O.E. **mihte**, beside O.H.G. pret. sing. indicative **mahta**, O.E. **meahte**, *might*.

(b) In L.W.S. **ea** became **æ**, later **e**; **ēa** became **ē**, later **ē**, before **h**, **3**, and **c**, as in E.W.S. **feax**, L.W.S. **fex**, *hair*, E.W.S. **seah**, L.W.S. **seh**, *saw*, E.W.S. **bēacen**, L.W.S. **bēcen**, *beacon*; E.W.S. **ēaze**, L.W.S. **ēze**, *eye*, E.W.S. **nēah**, L.W.S. **nēh**, *nigh*.

(c) E.W.S. **īe**, whether due to **i** mutation, the influence of an initial palatal consonant, or contraction, became **ȳ** or sometimes **ī**

in L W.S. *ī* is found chiefly in the neighbourhood of *h*, *ȝ*, *c*, or *sc*, but no definite rule can be given, the distinction may have been local

Examples are: E W S *ȝiefan*, L W S. *ȝyfan* or *ȝifan*, *to give*, E W S *hierde*, L W S *hyrde*, *herdsman*; E W S *ieldra*, L W S *yldra*, *older*, E W S *cieȝan*, L W S *cīȝan* or *cȳȝan*, *to cry out*, E W S *ȝebieȝan*, L W S *ȝebiȝan*, *to bend*, E W S *ȝeliefan*, L W S *ȝelȳfan*, *to believe*, E W S *hieran*, L W S *hȳran*, *hīran*, *to hear*

(d) *ea* became *e*, *ēa* became *ē*, in L W S after *c*, *ȝ*, and *sc*, as in E W S *cearf*, L W S *cerf*, *carved*, E W S *ȝeaf*, L W S *ȝef*, *gave*, E W S *ȝear*, L W S *ȝēr*, *year*; E W S *scēap*, L W S *scēp*, *sheep*

In Anglian this smoothing of diphthongs was more general. See Chap IV, § 51

INFLUENCE OF LABIALS

§ 37. A small number of words have *u* in O E, though, according to § 17, *u* should have become *o*. This is due to influence of a preceding or following labial consonant, or in one or two instances to a liquid

Examples are: O E *full* < Germ **fullaz*, O H G *fol*, *jull*; O E *fuȝol* < Germ **fuȝlaz*, O H G *fogal*, *foul*, *bird*, O E *wulf* < Germ **wulfaz*, O H G *wolf*, *wolf*, O E *wulle* < Germ **wullō*, O H.G. *wolla*, *wool*, O E *murnan*, *to mourn*, *spurnan*, *to spurn*.

INFLUENCE OF W

§ 38 (a) During the O E period a glide was developed between the front vowels *e* and *i* and antevocalic *w*, which combined with those vowels to form the diphthongs *eo* and *io*.

Examples are *cneowes* for older *cneō*, gen sing of *cneō*, *knee*, *eowe*, *eowu* for older *ewe*, from **awi*, *ewe*, *meowle* for older **mewile*, from older **mawile*, Goth *mawilō*, *maiden*; *treowes* for older *trewes*, gen sing of *trēo*, *tree*; *spiowian* for older *spiwian*, *to spew*

Note.—This development is later than *i* mutation, since *e* which is the *i* mutation of *a* is affected by it, as in *eowe*, *meowle*.

(b) In later W S *weo* became *wu*, more rarely *wo*, and *wio* became *wu*, whether due to Breaking (§ 31) or to Back Mutation (§ 35). Examples are due to Breaking, *sword*, *sword*, from earlier *sweord*; *wuht*, *being*, *thing*, from an earlier *wiht*, through the stage

wicht; wurdan, to become earlier weorðan; see in E.A. & M. edition: cwucu, later cucu, of 12, from an earlier cwicu, the same cwicu; swuſtor, ſiſt, earlier sweaſtor; swutoſ earlier sweotoſ. But see § 35 4.

Note.—Worold for weorold (§ 35, older werold, *werld*, occurs early.

VOWEL LENGTHENINGS

§ 39 Short vowels were lengthened in O.E. from various causes.

(1) Already in Prim Germ. a, i, u, had been lengthened in compensation for the loss of a nasal before the spirant *ɣ*, as in Goth. *jūhta*, O.E. *jūhte*, from **junhta*, *stained* (§ 20).

(2) In early O.E. a second lengthening of *o*, *a*, *i*, *u*, took place in compensation for the loss of a nasal before the other voiceless spirants, *f*, *s*, *þ*, as in Goth. *fiuſ*, O.E. *fiſ*, *fir*, O.H.G. *gans*, O.E. *gōs*, *gose*, Goth. *kunþs*, O.E. *cūþ*, *kien*; Germ. **tanþ*, O.E. *tōþ*, *tooth* (c. 29, 1 a, 2).

(3) Vowels were lengthened about 700, in compensation for the loss of antevocalic *h* after *r* and *l* (§ 73, b) as in the infinitive *fēolan*, older **feolhan*, to *adorn*, Goth. *filhan*, to *bury*, gen. sing. *mēares* for **der* **mearhes*, beside a nom. sing. *mearh*, *stead*; gen. sing. *sēoles* for older **seolhes*, beside a nom. sing. *seolh*, *servant*.

(4) Later, short front vowels were lengthened in compensation for the loss of *ɣ* before *d*, *ð*, *n* (§ 74, 7), as in *brēdan*, older *bredan*, to *burn*, *snatch*, *riſan*, older *riſnan*, to *rain*, *sāde*, older *sæȝde*, *said*.

(5) In addition to these compensatory lengthenings, short vowels were lengthened in monosyllables if accented in the sentence, as O.E. *hwā* beside *hwā*, *who*, *swā* beside *swā*, *is*, *pū* beside *pū*, *thou*; and before certain groups of consonants of which the first was a liquid or a nasal, as E.O.E. *bindan*, L.O.E. *bindan*, to *bind*; E.O.E. *fēld*, L.O.E. *fēld*, *field*.

Note.—For lengthenings due to contraction see below, § 40.

CONTRACTIONS

§ 40 Long vowels and diphthongs also arose in O.E. owing to the loss of intervocalic *h*, *j*, and *w*, and subsequent contraction of the vowels thus coming to stand together. The vowel of the first syllable remained unchanged with or absorbed that of the second.

(1) Contraction due to loss of *h*.

The following general rules may be given —

(a) A diphthong absorbed the following vowel, short diphthongs being lengthened

(b) A back vowel **a, o, u**, absorbed any following vowel, except that **a + u** gave **ēa**.

(c) A front vowel **æ, e, i**, absorbed a following front vowel, but formed a diphthong with a back vowel

Examples are : (a) **fēo** dative of **feoh**, *cattle*, for older ***feohe**; **hēas**, gen. sing. of **hēah**, *high*, for older ***hēahes**; **sēon**, *to see*, for older ***seohan**; **slean**, *to slay, strike*, for older ***sleahan**; **þeon**, *to prosper*, for older ***þeohan** from ***þihan** (§ 30) (b) **fōn**, *to seize*, for older ***fōhan**; **tā**, *toe*, for older ***tāhe**; but **ēa**, *water*, for older ***ahu**. (c) Anglian **sīþ**, *sees*, for older ***sīhþ**

(2) Intervocalic **j** fell, under conditions not yet fully ascertained, with contractions as after the loss of **h**. **i + e** gave **ie**.

Examples are . Prim Germ. ***frija**, *free*, O E. **frēo**, but **frize** in plur., Goth **frizands**, O E. **fēond**, *enemy*, Prim Germ. ***saibōjan**, *to salve, anoint*, O E. **sealfian**, through the stage ***saibijan**; Prim Germ. ***twēoja**, O E. **twēo**, *doubt*, Goth **sijai**, O E. **sie**, *if it be*. Later a glide **ɜ**, or before a back vowel **ʒe**, was sometimes inserted between the two vowels, as **sealfizean**, *to salve*, **twēoʒan**, *to doubt*

(3) **w** fell before **u** and **i** with contraction of the two syllables **au, eu, iu** then fell in with the Germ. diphthongs (§§ 23-26) and gave O E. **ēa, ēo, iō**.

Examples are O E. **clēa**, older ***clawu**, nom. sing. of **clawe**, *claw*, O E. **trēo** (§ 75, 3), older ***trewu**, neuter plur. of **trēo**, *tree*; O E. **sē** (§ 34), older ***sāwi**, Germ. ***sāwiz**, *sea* (§ 23)

CHAPTER III

THE VOWELS OF UNACCENTED SYLLABLES ✓

§ 41 A brief outline only of the history of unaccented vowels is here attempted, anything more being outside the scope of this grammar. Only the more important points are therefore given, and the attention of the student is directed especially to §§ 43, *a*, and 44. But before entering upon the history of the individual vowels a few general remarks will be in place.

All final consonants fell early in Germanic, with three exceptions, *z*, which arose from *s* by Verner's Law (§ 61), remained for a while, becoming *ś* again in Gothic and *r* in Old Norse, but (fell) in Old English; *s*, which was not affected by Verner's Law, and *r* remained in Old English. Examples are . Indg. *jugom̃ (cf. Lat. *jugum*), Prim. Germ. *juka(n), O. E. *geoc*, *yoke*, Indg. *bhendhonomi, Prim. Germ. *bindana(n), O. E. *bindan*, *to bind*; Lat. *quod*, Goth. *wa*, O. E. *hwæt*(t), *what*; Indg. *ghostis (cf. Lat. *hostis*), Prim. Germ. *gastiz, Goth. *gasts*, O. N. *gestr*, O. E. *giest*, *guest*, *stranger*, but Lat. *mūs*, O. E. *mūs*, *mouse*, Lat. *pater*, O. E. *fæder*, *father*.

As a rule the treatment of Indo-Germanic vowels was the same in passing into Primitive Germanic in unaccented as in accented syllables. In Primitive Germanic their history begins to diverge, and by the Old English period unaccented vowels had been shortened or weakened, or lost altogether, their treatment varying sometimes according to position. It might vary according to whether they stood final originally or became so early by the loss of a consonant, as above, whether they were in a syllable originally medial, which early became final, or in a syllable which remained medial into Old English. In the case of long vowels a further point has to be considered. In Indo-Germanic, vowels might be not only short or long, but if long they might be simple long vowels, known as *broken*, and indicated by an acute accent, as *ā*, or of *sturred* length indicated by a circumflex accent, as *â*. In the examples given below, it will

be seen that as a general principle broken long vowels had become shortened in Gothic and yielded *e* in Old English, but that slurred vowels were still long in Gothic and gave short full vowels in Old English

In this grammar the two lengths are distinguished only when necessary.

LONG VOWELS

§ 42 (1) Indg *ē* became Germ *æ*, Goth *a*, O E *e*, except in the earliest texts which keep *æ*. Examples are Goth *dōmida*, O E *dēmdē*, *judged*, Goth *nasida*, O E *nerede* (O North *neridæ*), *sared*, from an Indg ending, **-dēt*.

(2) Indg *i* became Goth *i* (written *ei*) or *i* when final. It became O.E. *i* which fell in with Germ *i* and had the same later history (see below under § 43, A, 2 and B). Examples are Goth *mahteis*, O E *mihti*, *mihte*, *powers*, Goth *wileina*, O E *willen*, *they will*.

(3) Indg *ā* became Germ *ō*, falling in with Indg *ō*.

(a) Prim Germ *ō* from either source became *u* in O E if originally final. The Goth corresponding form is *a*. Examples are the ending of the nom. sing. of nouns of the *ō* declension (Gk *α*, Lat *a*), as in Indg *-ghebhā* (cf. Lat *mensa*), Germ **zēbō*, Goth *giba*, O E *ziefu*, *gift*, the ending of the neut. plur. of nouns of the *a* declension, as in Indg **jugā* (Lat *juga*), Germ **jukō*, Goth *juka*, O E *zeocu*, *yokes*, the ending of the 1st pers. sing. pres. indic., as Indg. **bherō*, Gk *φέρω*, Lat *ferō*, Goth *baíra*, O E *beru*, *I bear*.

The history of this *u* is that of Germ *u* (§ 43, A, 4).

(b) Prim Germ *ō* followed originally by *n* and perhaps other consonants which fell, became Goth *ō*, O E *a*, if it went back to Indg *ō*, *ā*, but Goth *a*, O E *e*, if to Indg *ó*, *á*. This explains the difference of ending in the nom. sing. of nouns of the *-n* declension (§ 100 ff.), masculines like O E. *guma*, *man*, going back to *ō*, but feminines like *tunge*, *tongue*, and neuters like *ēare*, *ear*, to *ó*.

(c) Prim Germ *ō* before *s* which remained became Goth *ō*, O E *a*, as in Indg **dhoghōs*, Germ **dagōs*, Goth. *dagōs*, O E. *dažas*, *days*.

(4) Germ. *ai* became O E. *e*, or *æ* in the earliest texts; Germ *au* became O E. *a*. Examples are: Goth *gibái*, O E. *ziefe*, dat. sing. of *ziefu*, *gift*, Goth *nimái*, O E. *nime*, 3rd pers. sing. pres. subj. of *niman*, *to take*, Goth *ahtáu*, O.E. *eahhta*, *eight*; Goth. *sunáu*, O.E. *sunu*, dat. sing. of *sunu*, *son*.

A SHORT VOWELS IN FINAL SYLLABLES

§ 43 (1) Final Indg *e* fell in Germ, as in the imperative sing of strong verbs, as Indg **bhere*, Grk *phépe*, O E *ber*, *bear*

(2) In final syllables it became *i*, falling in with Indg *i* and *i* § 42, 2) *i* from any source was later lost except after short monosyllables, as in Prim Germ **gumanez*, later *gumaniz*, Goth *gumans*, O E *guman*, *men*, Lat *hostis*, Goth *gasts*, O E *gíest*, *stranger*, Lat *pedes*, Germ **fōtez*, later **fōtiz*, O E *fēt*, *feet*

After short monosyllables *i* remained, but was weakened to *e* in O E, as Prim Germ **winiŕ*, O H G *wini*, O E *wini*, *wine*, *friend*.

(3) Indg *o* became Germ *a*, falling in with Indg *a* and sharing the same later history. Prim Germ *a* fell in final syllables, as in the nom sing of nouns of the *a*-declension, such as Indg **dhoghos*, Germ **dazaz*, Goth *dags*, O E *dæg*, *day*, or in the earlier 2nd pers sing pret indie of strong verbs, as kept in O E in preterite-present verbs, as Indg **sko'tha*, Goth *skalt*, O E *scealt*, *shalt*

(4) Indg *u* remained in Prim Germ, falling in with *u* from a vocalic liquid or nasal (§ 14), with *u* from vocalized *w* (§ 75, 3); or with *u* from older *ō* (§ 42, 3, a).

In O E *u* remained if followed by a consonant, as Germ **budun*, O E *budun*, later *budon*, pret plur indie of *bēodan*, *to offer*.

u of whatever origin fell when final (a) after a long monosyllable, (b) after a dissyllabic stem, if the first syllable was short

Examples are (a) Goth *handus*, O E *hand*, *hand*, but Goth. *sunus*, O E *sunu*, *son*, Germ **snárw(az)*, O E *snā*, *snow*, but Germ **trew(am)*, O E *treu* > *trēo*, *tree*, Germ **lāisō*, O E *lār*, *doctrine*: but Germ **zebō*, O E *gíefu*, *gift*, Germ **berō*, O E. (Angl) *beru*, *I bear* (b) Germ **werudō*, O E *werod*, *troops*, but Germ **hāubūðō*, O E *hēafodu*, *heads*, since the first syllable is long.

Note 1.—In the nom. sing. of dissyllabic fem. nouns with long first syllables, such as *frōlor*, *consolation*, *sāwol*, *soul*, the final *u* has been lost on the analogy of long monosyllabic nouns, such as *lār*.

Note 2.—In the 1st pers sing of the pres indie. *u* is retained in Anglian texts only, in West Saxon and Kentish it was early replaced by *e* from the 2nd and 3rd persons. In Anglian texts it is reintroduced after long syllables from the short-stemmed verbs in which it was regular. Thus *sendu*, *I send*, is found as well as *faru*, *I go*.

Note 3.—During the O E period unaccented *u* was weakened to *o*, later *a*, as in O E. *sunu*, L O E. *suno*, *a son*, E O E. *budun*, O E. *budon*, L O E. *budan*, *offered*

B. SHORT VOWELS IN SYLLABLES, ORIGINALLY MEDIAL, WHICH BECAME FINAL IN WEST GERM AND O E

(1) Prim Germ *e* became *i* before *i* as in the endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers sing of the present indic, as Prim Germ **beresi*, **bereþi* > **berisi*, **beriþi*; O H G *biris*, *birit*; E O E. *birist*, *birip*, *thou bearest*, *he bears*

Before a back vowel *e* remained, as in Prim Germ **borenaz*, O E *boren*, past part of *beran*, *to bear*, and other past parts, Grk. *nórepos*, O E *hwæðer*, *whether*

In O E *i*, from earlier *e*, *i*, *ī* (§§ 42, 2, 43, A, 2), usually became *e* except in the earliest texts, which keep *i*. Examples are: E O E *birist*, *birid*, as above. O H G *birist*, *birit*, standard O E *biest*, *bired*, *thou bearest*, *he bears*, Prim Germ **gūlþinaz*, Goth *gulþeins*, O E. *gylden*, *golden*, Goth *wileina*, O E *willen*, *they will*. But before a palatal consonant *i* remained, as in Germ **busigaz*, O E *bysig*, *busu*, Goth *mannisks*, O E *mennisc*, *human*

(2) Indg. *o* became *a* in Prim Germ except before *m* and *u* falling in with Indg *a*. Prim Germ *a* of either origin remained before *n*, as in Prim Germ **beranan*, Goth. *baíran*, O E *beran*, *to bear*, and other infinitives, Prim Germ **gumanaz*, Goth *gumans*, O E *guman*, *men*. In other positions it became *e*, later *i*, as in Prim Germ **auðagaz*, Goth *áudags*, O E *eadig*, *blissed*; Prim Germ **managaz*, Goth *manags*, O E *manig*, *many*

(3) Prim Germ *o* remained before *m* and *u* and became *u* in O E, as in the dat plur of the *a*-decl, as Prim Germ **dagomiz*, O E *dagum*, *days*, and acc sing Prim Germ **brōporun*, O E *brōþur*.

(4) In W Germ. a vowel was developed before any liquid or nasal which had become sonant by the earlier loss of final vowels and consonants (§ 41 ff). This was usually *u*, later *o* after a back, and *e* after a front vowel. Thus in the uninflected forms of nouns and adjectives, Goth *fugls*, from **fuglaz*, is O E *fuzol*, *fowl*; Goth *málþms*, *gift*, from **málþmaz*, is O E. *māþpum*, *treasure*, Goth *akrs*, from **akraz*, is O E. *æcer*, *acre*, *field*, Goth. *baitrs*, from **baitraz*, is O E *biter*, *bitter*, Goth. *talkns*, from **talknaz*, is O E. *tācen*, *token*.

VOWELS OF SYLLABLES WHICH REMAINED MEDIAL IN O E

§ 44. Vowels of medial syllables were syncopated in O E after a long syllable or a dissyllable if before a single consonant, as in O.E. *hālȝum*, dat plur of *hālȝ*, *holy*, *hēafdes*, gen sing. of *hēafod*, *head*, *læorde*, pret of *lærian*, *to teach*, older **lærida*.

They remained (a) after a short syllable as in *heofones*, gen. sing. of *heofon*, *heaven*, *nerede*, pret of *nerian*, *to save*, *werodum*, dat plur of *werod*, *troop*; (b) if followed by a consonant group or preceded by a cons + r, l, as in *cyninges*, gen sing of *cynig*, *king*, *gydenne*, gen sing of *gyden*, *goddess*, *lēofosta*, superl of *iēof*, *dear*, *leornunge*, gen sing. of *leornung*, *learning*, *seȝlede*, pret. of *seȝlian*, *to sail*, *timbrede*, pret of *timbrian*, *to build*.

Note 1.—Medial o frequently became e by dissimilation when the following syllable contained an u, o, or a, as in the pret. plur. indicative, *clipedon*, for older *clipodon*, *they called*, and the dative plural, *weredum*, for older *werodum*, *troops*.

Note 2.—u of medial syllables became o and in L O E a as in final syllables (§ 43, A, Note 3). Examples are: L.O.E. *clipade* for *clipode*, *called*, *werades* for *werodes*, *gen. sg.*; earliest O.E. *clipude*, *werudes*.

CHAPTER IV

TREATMENT OF ACCENTED VOWELS IN THE O.E. DIALECTS

§ 45. It has been thought better hitherto to give only W S forms in order that the student may get a clear knowledge of standard Old English. Kentish and Anglian, however, differ in many points and, as forms from those dialects are common in O E poetry, which is largely of Anglian origin, and occur also sometimes in W S prose, a brief sketch of the principal points of difference is here added.

TREATMENT OF W. GERM. *ā*, W S. *ǣ*

§ 46. (1) Germ *a* became *æ* in North and most of Merc, as in W S. (Chap II, § 27), but passed on to *e* in Kent, and to some extent in S Merc. Examples are W S, Merc, North *bær*, Kent, S Merc *ber*, *bore*, W S, Merc, North *dæz*, Kent, S Merc *de3*, *day*, W S., Merc, North *þæt*, Kent, S Merc. *þet*, *that*.

(2) W S *ǣ*, from W Germ *ā* (§§ 12, 28), became *ē* in Merc, North and Kent, as O H G *tāt*, W S *dæd*, Merc, North., Kent. *dēd*, *deed*, W S *lǣtan*, Merc, North, Kent *lētan*, *to allow*; W S *sǣton*, Merc, North, Kent *sēton*, pret. of *sittan*, *to sit*.

(3) W S *ǣ* by *i* mutation of O E *ā*, Germ *ái* (§§ 23, 34), remained in Merc and North, but became *ē* in Kent, as Goth *hálljan*, W S, Merc, North *hǣlan*, Kent *hēlan*, *to heal*, W S., Merc, North. *hwǣte*, Kent *hwēte*, from Germ **hwāltja*, *wheat*, W S, Merc., North *lǣdan*, Kent *lēdan*, from Germ. **lāidjan*, *to lead* (cf. *lād*, *a journey*).

Notes.—Since every *æ* became *e* in Kent., the writings *æ* and *e* were frequently confused, *æ* being sometimes written for *e* from Germ. *e*, as in *setan* for *etan*, *to eat*, *hær* for *hēr*, *here*.

BREAKING (CHAP II, §§ 30, 31)

§ 47 (a) *a* was not broken before *l* + cons in Merc, North and early Kent, but remained as *a*. In later Kentish texts breaking to *ea* is found, as W.S., L.Kent *cealf*, Merc, North and E.Kent. *calf*, *calf*; W.S., L.Kent *eald*, Merc, North and E.Kent *ald*, *old*; W.S., L.Kent *healdan*, Merc, North., E.Kent *haldan*, *to hold*.

(b) All breakings before *h*, *lh*, *lc*, *l̥*, *rh*, *rc*, *r̥*, were reduced back to monophthongs in Merc and North, *ea* becoming *æ* or *e*; *eo* becoming *e*; *īo* becoming *ī*, and *ēa* becoming *ē* (see § 51).

Examples are —

- æ. W.S., Kent *hear̥*, Merc, North *hær̥*, later *her̥*, *temple*, W.S., Kent *meaht̥*, Merc, North *mæht̥* or *meht̥*, *mighty*.
- e. W.S. *seoh*, Merc, North *seh*, imperative of *sēon*, *to see*; W.S., Kent *seoh*, Merc, North *selh*, *seal*; W.S., Kent *beorgan*, Merc, North *berzan*, *to conceal*, W.S., Kent *weorc*, Merc, North *wer̥*, *work*.
- i. W.S., Kent *bierhtu*, Merc, North *birhtu*, *brightness*, W.S., Kent *tiohhian*, Merc, North *tihhian*, *to consider*.

Note.—For L.W.S. *birhtu*, see § 86, c.

- æ. W.S., Kent *nēah*, Merc, North. *nēh*, *nigh*.

Note.—For L.W.S. monophthongization of *ea*, *ēa*, see § 36, b.

- i. W.S., Kent *þioh*, Merc., North *þih*, imperative of *þēon*, *to prosper*. W.S., Kent *wioh*, *wēoh*, Merc, North *wih*, *idol*.

Thus breaking is only seen in Merc and North before *r* followed by a consonant other than *h*, *z*, *c*, as in *bearn*, *child*, *heard*, *hard*; *heorte*, *heart*, *sweord*, *sword*, *liornung*, *learning*, and in some early North texts *a* remains even in that position, as in *barn*, *child*, *ward*, *guardian*.

DIPHTHONGIZATION AFTER *z*, *c*, *sc* (CHAP II, § 32)

§ 48 This law does not work outside W.S. and a limited area of North. Thus W.S. *zeat*, *gate*, is Merc, North *zæt*, S.Merc, Kent *zet* (§ 46, 1); W.S. *sceal*, *shall*, is Merc, North *scæl*, S.Merc., Kent *scel*; W.S. *ziefan*, *to give*, is Merc, North, Kent *zefan*, or *zeofan*, with back mutation (§ 50), W.S. *scield*, *shield*, is Merc, North, Kent *sceld*; W.S. *zēar*, *year*, is Merc, North, Kent *zēr*; W.S. *scēap*, *sheep*, is Merc., North., Kent. *scēp* (§ 46, 2), W.S. *ziet*, *yet*, is Merc., North, Kent *zēt*.

I MUTATION (CHAP II, §§ 33, 34)

§ 49 (1) *ā* (§§ 23, 34) became *ē* through the stage *æ* in Kent, as WS, Merc, North *clæne*, Kent *clēne*, *clean*, WS, Merc, North *hælan*, Kent *hēlan*, to *hual* (see § 46, 3).

(2) The *i* mutation of *ō* occurs more frequently and later as *ē* in Merc and North than in WS and Kent, as WS, Kent *exen*, Merc, North. *æxen*, *oxen*, WS, Kent *dēman*, Merc, North *dēman*, to *judge*, WS, Kent *dēþ*, Merc *dæþ*, North *dæs*, *does*

Note.—*æ* forms are found occasionally in E.W.S. and E.Kent; and *ē* forms in later Merc and North

(3) *ū* became *ē* by *i* mutation in later Kent, as WS, E Kent, Merc, North *fyllan*, L Kent *fellan*, to *fill*, WS, E Kent, Merc, North *scyldiz*, L Kent *sceldiz*, *guilty*, further examples are L Kent *senn*, *ontēnan* for *synn*, *sn*, *ontȳnan*, to *open*.

(4) *ea* due to breaking before *r* + cons became *e* by *i* mutation in Kent, Merc, and North, as WS. *cierran*, older **carrjan*, Kent, Merc, North *cerran*, to *turn*, WS *ierfe*, older **arfi*, Goth *arbi*, Kent, Merc, North *erfe*, *inheritance*

(5) *a* not broken before *i* + cons in E Kent, Merc, and North became mutated to *æ* or *e*, as WS *ielde*, from **aldi* (cf *eald*, *old*), Kent, S Merc *elde*, Merc, North *ælde*, *men*, WS *cwielman*, older **cwalman* (cf *cwealm*, *death*), Kent, S Merc *cwelman*, Merc, North *cwæiman*, to *kill*, WS *wiell*, older **walli* (cf *weallan*, to *boul*), Kent, S Merc *well*, Merc, North *wæll*, *spring*, *fountain*

(6) The *i* mutation of *ea* before *h* or *h* + cons is in Merc and North *æ* or *e*, as WS *hliehhan*, Merc, North *hliehhan* or *hlæhhan*, to *lough*, WS *mlihtiz*, Merc, North *mæhtiz*, *mehtiz*, *mighty*.

(7) *ēa* became *ē* by *i* mutation in all non-WS dialects, as WS *hieran*, older **hēar(j)an*, Goth. *gaháusjan*, Kent, Merc, North *hēran*, to *hear*, or WS. *nied*, older **nēad*, Goth. *naups*, Kent, Merc, North *nēd*, *need*.

(b) *io*, *io* do not undergo *i* mutation outside WS. The usual forms in North. and Kent are *io*, *io*, but *eo*, *eo*, occur. In Merc *eo*, *eo* are general, but *io*, *io* are found. *īa*, *ēa* also occur, especially in North. Examples are: WS *hierde*, older **hirdjaz*, Kent, North *hiorde*, Merc *heorde*, *shepherd*, WS *ierre*, Kent, North *iorre*, Merc *eorre*, *angry*; W.S. *fiend*, Kent, North. *fiond*, Merc *fēond*, *enemies*.

BACK OR GUTTURAL MUTATION (CHAP II, § 35)

§ 50 This law works more fully in all the other dialects than in W.S.

(a) *a* is affected in Merc. by both *u* and *o/a*, in North possibly to some extent by *u* mutation, as W.S. Kent *fare*, Merc. *fearu*, *I fare*, W.S. Kent, North *hladan*, Merc. *hleadan*, *to load*. Before *z* and *c*, *ea* becomes *æ* (§ 51).

(b) *e* as well as *i* is affected by both *u* and *o/a* mutation in Kent, Merc., and North. In Kent the diphthong is seen regularly before all consonants, but in Merc. and North the mutation is counteracted by the influence of a *z* or *c* (§ 51). Examples are *u* mutation of *e*: W.S. *medu*, Kent, Merc., North *meodu*, *mead*, W.S. *zlefū*, for older *zefu* (§ 32), Kent, Merc., North *zeofu*, *gift*, but W.S., Merc., North *brezū*, Kent *breozu*, *prince* *o/a* mutation of *e*: W.S. *beran*, Kent, Merc., North *beoran*, *to bear*, but W.S., Merc., North *sprecan*, Kent *spreocan*, *to speak*. *u* mutation of *i*: W.S. *sīdu*, Kent, Merc., North *sīodu*, *custom*. *o/a* mutation of *i*: W.S. *wīta*, Kent, Merc., North *wīota*, *wise man, councillor*, but W.S., Merc., North *wīcu*, Kent *wīocu*, *week*.

(c) In the dialects the diphthong arising from back mutation was kept in any form in which it occurred. Levelling out of the mutated form is not seen as in W.S. (§ 35, 4). Thus W.S. *limu*, from *lim*, is Kent., Merc., North *liomu*, *limbs*, W.S. *pisan*, from *piše*, is Kent, Merc., North *pīosan*, *peas*, W.S. *warum*, from *ware*, is Merc., North *wezum*, *dat plur. men*.

MONOPHTHONGIZATION BEFORE *h*, *z*, *o*

§ 51 In Anglian all diphthongs were smoothed to monophthongs before *h*, *z*, *c*, whether following immediately, or in the groups *lc*, *lz*, *lh*, *rc*, *rz*, *rh* (§ 47, b).

(1) *ea* became *æ* or *e*, as Merc. **deazas* > *dæzas*, *plur. of dæz*, *day*; W.S. *feahht*, Angl. *fæht*, *fough*; W.S. *hearz*, Angl. *hærz*, *herz*, *temple*.

(2) *eo* became *e*, as W.S. *fēolan*, older **feolhan*, *to enter, adhere to*, Angl. *fēlan*, older **felhan*; W.S. *feorh*, Angl. *ferh*, *life*; O.H.G. *reht*, W.S. *riht*, older **reoht* (§ 36, a), Angl. *reht*, *right*, further examples in Anglian are an *infm sprecan*, *to speak*, beside *eotan*, *to eat*; or a *plur wezas*, *ways*, beside *weoras*, *men*, from sg. *wez*, *wer*.

(3) *io* became *i*, as W.S. *bierhtu*, older **biorhtī*, Angl. *birhtu*, (§ 47, b), *brightness*, W.S. *flōhhan*, Angl. *tihhan*, *to consider*.

(4) ēa became ē through the stage æ, as E W S *bēacen*, Angl *bācen*, *beacon*, E W S *bēaz*, Angl *bēz*, *necklace*, E W S *hēah*, Angl *hēh*, *high*.

(5) ēo became ē, as W.S. *flēoƿan*, Angl *flēƿan*, *to fly*; W S *lēoht*, Angl *lēht*, *light*, W S *sēoc*, Angl *sēc*, *sick*

(6) īo became ī, as W.S. *ƿīoh*, *ƿēoh*, Angl. *ƿīh*, imperative of *ƿēon*, *to prosper*.

INFLUENCE OF W

§ 52 In Northumbrian *we* became *wæ*, *wo*, as W S *wesan*, North *wosa*, *to be*; W.S *cwēðan*, North *cwæða*, *to speak*.

CHAPTER V

VOWEL GRADATION (ABLAUT)

§ 53 In Old English this term is used chiefly for the variation of vowel seen in the stems of strong verbs, which may be called "graded" verbs, as for instance in *rīdan*, to ride, beside its preterite *rād* and its past participle *riden*. The vowels thus varied occur in regular series; for example, *i* can interchange with *ā* or with *ī*, but not with *ō* or *u*.

Vowel Gradation is due to the variation in the degree of stress with which the vowels were originally spoken. In the Indg. parent language, as in Latin or Greek, the position of the accent varied, being sometimes on the root syllable of a word and sometimes on another, and the vowel of the root syllable assumed different forms in consequence. Thus, as in Greek we have *λείπω*, *λελοιπα*, *λίπειν*, to leave, we have in Prim Germanic an infin. **bēitan*, to bite, pret. sing. **bāit*; pret. plur. **bitun*; or an infin. **bēuðan*, to offer, pret. sing. **bāuð*; pret. plur. *buðun*; or an infin. **bīndan*, to bind, pret. sing. **bānd*; pret. plur. **bydun*, later *bundun*. From these examples it may be seen that *ei* and *ai* were shortened to *i* when unstressed, *eu* and *au* to *u*; *en* and *an* to *ŋ*, which then became *un* (§ 14). In passing down into Old English, these vowels thus graded had their regular developments, as given in Chapter II, and we get O E *bītan*, *bāt*, *biton*; *bēodan*, *bēad*, *budon*; *bindan*, *band*, *bundon*.

In Old English, Vowel Gradation is to be seen clearly in strong verbs only, but originally it worked in all parts of speech, and the same series of vowels were to be found in nouns and adjectives as in verbs. Moreover, since all root syllables and suffixes were sometimes accented and sometimes unaccented, Gradation must have occurred originally in every syllable of every word.

Hence Vowel Gradation may be defined as the variation of the vowel in stem or suffix within certain regular series, the variation being due to the Indo-Germanic system of variable accentuation

In Germanic, adjectives and nouns have preserved one form only of the stem, carrying it into all cases. Thus from the root of the verb *bītan* the noun is *bite*, *a bite*, and the adjective *biter*, *bitter*, from that of the verb *bēodan*, there is a noun *bēod*, *table*, and another, *boda*, *messenger*, connected with *bindan*, there are nouns *gebind*, *a fetter*, *band*, *a band*, and *byndel*, *a bundle*. From the root of a verb of the *a-ō* series (see below), *calan*, pret *cōl*, *to be cold*, there is an adjective *cōl*, *cool*, another, *ceald* < *cald*, *cold*, and a noun *ciele* < **ceali* < **caliz*, *a chill*.

In verbs all grades are kept. In Pre-Germanic the accent was on the root syllable in all forms of the present and in the pret sing indicative, but it was on a syllable of the ending in the pret plur indicative, the pret sing. and plur subjunctive, and the past participle. In early Primitive Germanic, however, the accent was fixed by the Germanic Accent Law on the root syllable, and accented (often called strong) grades and unaccented (or weak) grades all had henceforward the treatment of vowels of accented syllables.

Six series of vowels are to be distinguished in Germanic strong verbs —

I. Indg.	<i>eī</i>	<i>oi</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
Germ.	<i>ei</i> > <i>ī</i> (§ 13)	<i>ái</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
II Indg.	<i>eų</i>	<i>ou</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
Germ.	<i>eu</i> > <i>ēo</i> (§ 25)	<i>au</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i> > <i>o</i> (§ 17)
III. Indg.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} e + N + C^1 \\ e + L + C \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} o \\ o \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ L \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} N \\ L \end{array} \right.$
Germ.	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} i + N + C (§ 15) \\ e + L + C \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} a \\ a \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} u (§ 14) \\ u \end{array} \right.$	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} u \\ u > o (§ 17) \end{array} \right.$
IV. Indg.	<i>e</i> + <i>L</i> or <i>N</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē</i> (Note 3)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} L \\ N \end{array} \right.$ or $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} L \\ N \end{array} \right.$
Germ.	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i> (§ 12)	<i>u</i> > <i>o</i>
V Indg.	<i>e</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>e</i> (Note 4)
Germ.	<i>e</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>e</i>
VI. Indg.	various series			
Germ.	<i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i>

¹ N = nasal, m or n. L = liquid, l or r. C = consonant.

In OE the results of the various sound laws given in Chapter II require many subdivisions in Series III-V, but the following table may be given —

I	<i>i</i>	<i>ā</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
II.	<i>ēo</i>	<i>ēa</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
III.	{ (a) <i>i</i> + N + C	<i>a</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
	{ (b) <i>e</i> + l + C	<i>ea</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
	{ (c) <i>eo</i> + r + C <i>eo</i> + h + C }	<i>ea</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>
IV	{ (a) <i>e</i> + L	<i>æ</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>o</i>
	{ (b) <i>i</i> + N	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>u</i>
V.	<i>e</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>æ</i>	<i>e</i>
VI	<i>a</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>ō</i>	<i>a</i>

Examples are :—

I	<i>drifan</i>	<i>drāf</i>	<i>drifon</i>	<i>drifen</i>	<i>to drive.</i>
II	<i>cēosan</i>	<i>cēas</i>	<i>curon</i>	<i>coren</i>	<i>to choose.</i>
III.	(a) <i>bindan</i>	<i>band</i>	<i>bundon</i>	<i>bunden</i>	<i>to bind.</i>
	(b) <i>helpan</i>	<i>healp</i>	<i>hulpon</i>	<i>holpen</i>	<i>to help.</i>
	(c) <i>weorðan</i>	<i>wearþ</i>	<i>wurdon</i>	<i>worden</i>	<i>to become.</i>
IV	(a) <i>beran</i>	<i>bær</i>	<i>bæron</i>	<i>boren</i>	<i>to bear.</i>
	(b) <i>niman</i>	<i>nōm</i>	<i>nōmon</i>	<i>numen</i>	<i>to take.</i>
V	<i>metan</i>	<i>mæt</i>	<i>mæton</i>	<i>meten</i>	<i>to measure.</i>
VI	<i>faran</i>	<i>fōr</i>	<i>fōron</i>	<i>faren</i>	<i>to fare.</i>

Besides this stress accentuation, Indo-Germanic also possessed pitch or musical accent. That is to say that differences in meaning between the different forms of the same word could be expressed, not only by the variation in the position of the stress, as illustrated above, but also by a variation of the pitch of the vowel, or in other words by musical accent. The interchange between Indg. *e* and *o*, Germ *e* and *a*, in the two forms of the strong grade is generally considered to be due to difference of pitch. From this it will be seen that, while stress accentuation produced chiefly a difference in the quantity or length of the vowel, pitch accentuation brought about a variation in its quality.

Note 1 —It will be seen that Series I-V go back to one in Indo-Germanic in which the interchanging vowels were *e—o* (cf. Greek μένω, πορῆ, μλ-μνω). The five classes which grew out of it in Germanic are due to the influence of neighbouring sounds.

Note 2.—Class VI, on the other hand, represents several Indo Germanic series which fell together in Germanic

Note 3.—Each of the accented vowels could occur in lengthened form. The *ē* in the third stem in Classes IV and V is the lengthened form of the *e* of the present, and is an exception to the general scheme of accentuation given above

Note 4.—*ə* in the past part. of Class V is the weakened form of this *ē*. Indg. *a* gave *e* in Prim. Germ. in unaccented syllables, not *a* (§ 12), as when accented in Germanic

Note 5.—The *u* of the weak grade of Classes II and III in Germanic will be seen to be of different origins. It goes back to Indg. *u* in Class II, but to a vocalic liquid or nasal in Class III. The later history is, however, the same

Note 6.—Gothic shows traces of a 7th Series, *ē*, *ō* for Germ. *æ*, *ō*, not found in O.E. verbs, as Goth. *lētan*, *lallot*, *lētans*, *to cause*.

CHAPTER VI

CONSONANTS

I

THE TREATMENT OF INDO-GERMANIC CONSONANTS IN GERMANIC.

GRIMM'S LAW OR THE FIRST SOUND SHIFT

§ 54. Indo-Germanic possessed the following consonant system :

		Labials.	Dentals	Palatals.	Velars.	
Stop Consonants	Simple	{ voiceless	p	t	k	q
		{ voiced	b	d	g	g
	Aspirated	{ voiceless	ph	th	kh	qh
		{ voiced	bh	dh	gh	gh
	Spirants	{ voiceless		s		
		{ voiced		z	j	
Liquids			l, r			
Nasals		m	n	ɲ	ŋ	
Semivowels		w, (u)		j, (i)		

Of these the spirants, liquids, nasals, and semivowels remained in Germanic, but the stop consonants all underwent a regular change. For the treatment of the velars see § 59. This development of the stop consonants from Indo-Germanic into Germanic is frequently called Grimm's Law, because it constitutes one stage in the history of consonants as formulated by Jacob Grimm in the second edition of his *German Grammar*, published in 1822. It is also called the First Sound Shift in order to distinguish it from the second stage, the treatment of Germanic consonants in Old High German, known as the Second Sound Shift.

Note 1.—The Indg. aspirated consonants were double consonants, with both elements heard, as in N E *shepherd, boathook*.

Note 2.—For the pronunciation and nature of the consonants treated in this Chapter the student should refer to Chapter I, §§ 4, 6. It may be useful to repeat briefly that *þ* is used for the sound of the *th* in *think*, *ð* for that in *then*; and to add that *ʃ* represents approximately the sound of N.E. *v*, *χ* that of *ch* in Scotch *loch*; *ʒ* is a voiced spirant as in German *tag*, *weg*; *g* represents the corresponding stop consonant as in N.E. *good*; *u* and *i* represent those vowels when used as consonants, the symbol *ŋ* is used for the *n* heard before a *g* or *k*, as in N.E. *bring*, *drink*, *ŋ* for that heard before a velar (§ 59), as in Latin *linguo*.

§ 55 The Indg. voiceless stop consonants *p*, *t*, *k*, became first *ph*, *th*, *kh*, falling in at this stage with the original *ph*, *th*, *kh*, and with them passed on to the voiceless spirants *f*, *þ*, *χ*. Examples are:—

- p.* Grk *πούς*, Lat. *pēs*, O.E. *fōt*, *foot*, Grk *πέλλα*, Lat. *pellis*, O.E. *fell*, *skin*, *hide*, Lat. *porcus*, O.E. *fearh*, *pig*, Lat. *capitō*, *I take hold*, Goth. *hafjan*, O.E. *pret* sing. *hōf*, *raised*, Lat. *nepōs*, O.E. *nefa*, *nephew*, *grandson*.
- t.* Grk *τρεῖς*, Lat. *trēs*, O.E. *þrīe*, *three*, Grk Dor. *τύ*, Lat. *tū*, O.E. *þū*, *thou*, Grk *φράτηρ*, member of a clan, Lat. *frāter*, Goth. *brōþar*, O.E. *brōðor*, *brother*, Lat. *vertō*, *I turn*, Goth. *waírþan*, O.E. *weoíðan*, *to become*.
- k.* Grk *κύων*, Lat. *canis*, O.E. *hund*, *hound*, Lat. *canō*, *I sing*, O.E. *hana*, *cock*, Lat. *dúcō*, *I lead*, O.E. *tēon*, for older **tēohan*, *to draw*, Lat. *pecus*, O.E. *feoh*, *cattle*, *property*.

Examples of *ph*, *th*, *kh* are rare, but cf Grk *σφάλω*, *to trip up*, and O.E. *feallan*, *to fall*, Grk *ἀσκηθής*, *unhurt*, and O.E. *sceþþan*, *to injure*, Lat. *habēre*, from Indg. root **khabh*, and O.E. *habban*, *to have*.

§ 56 The voiced stop consonants *b*, *d*, *g*, became unvoiced to *p*, *t*, *k*. Examples are:—

- b.* Grk (Thracian) *βαίρη*, O.E. *pād*, *coat*; Lat. *lūbricus*, O.E. *slūpan*, *to slip*.
- d.* Grk *δίω*, O.E. *twā*, *two* (neut.), Grk *ὀδούς*, gen. *ὀδόντος*, O.E. *tōþ*, *tooth*, Lat. *edō*, O.E. *etan*, *to eat*, Lat. *sedeō*, O.E. *sittan*, *to sit*.
- g.* Grk *γόνυ*, Lat. *genu*, O.E. *cnēo*, *knee*, Grk *ἀγρός*, Lat. *ager*, O.E. *aecer*, *field*, *acre*; Grk *ἐγώ*, Lat. *ego*, O.E. *ic*, *I*.

§ 57 The voiced aspirates *bh*, *dh*, *gh* became first the voiced spirants *ḃ*, *ḍ*, *ḡ*. Then in early Prim. Germ. they passed on to *b*,

d, g, after nasals, i.e. in the groups mb, nd, ng, and ð, ȝ underwent the same change initially. Examples are —

bh. Skr bhārāmi, Grk φέρω, Lat ferō, O E *beran*, to bear; Skr bhrātā, Grk φράτηρ, member of a clan, Lat frāter, O E. brōðor, brother, Skr jāmbhas, tooth, O E *camb*, comb, Skr nābhas, O. Sax *nebal*, cloud, O E. nifol, dark.

dh. Skr ni-dāghās, for older *ni-dhāghās, summer, O E *dæg*, day; Grk θυγάτηρ (θ = Indg dh), O E *dohtor*, daughter; Skr bhāndhanam, a binding, O E *bindan*, to bind, Skr. mādhyas, Lat medius, Goth midjis, O E *midd*, middle (§ 64)

gh. Indg. *ghostis, Lat hostis, O E *ȝlest*, stranger, Grk λέχος (from Indg root *iegh), O E *lezer*, bed, Skr jānghā, leg, O E *gangan*, to go.

Note — Every initial **b, d, g**, must be of this origin, and also every O.E. **d** which occurs medially in forms in which Verner's Law cannot have worked (§§ 61, 66)

§ 58. Under certain conditions this development did not take place

(1) (a) **p, t, k** remained unchanged after **s**. Examples are :—

p. Grk σπάθη, sword, O.E. spada, spade, Lat spūo, O.E. spīwan, to spew

t. Grk ἀστήρ, Lat stella, O.E. steorra, star, Grk ἰστάναι, Lat stare, O E standan, to stand, Lat hostis, O E. ȝlest, stranger; Lat hesternus, of yesterday, O E ȝistran-dæg, yesterday

k. Grk σκιά, shadow, O.E. scīnan, to shune, Lat piscis, O.E. fisc, fish

(b) **t** remained unchanged also in the Germ groups, ft, xt, as Lat captus, O E hæft, prisoner, Grk κλεπτης, thief, Goth hlifitus, N.E. to lift, in sense of stealing; Grk ὀκτώ, Lat octo, O E. eahta, eight.

Note — **th** became **t** in these groups and after **s**, as in the original ending of the 2nd pers sing pret indic of strong verbs, seen in O E in preterite-present verbs, as Indg. *memoghtha, O.E. meahht, mightest.

(2) The following modification of the First Sound Shift is of importance since it explains the twofold development which might arise in Germanic from one root, and therefore the connection in Old English between parts of a verb as widely divergent as bycgan,

to *buy*, pret *bohte*, or between related words such as *scieppan*, to *create*, and *zescraft*, *creature*

Already in Pre-Germanic every labial had become *p*, every dental, *t*, and every palatal, *k*, by assimilation to a following *t* or *s*. Cf. Lat. pret *nūpsī*, past part *nūptum*, beside *nūbere*, to *veil*, be *married*, Lat. pret *rēxi*, past part *rectum*, beside *regere*, to *rule*, and, with a later development of *tt* to *ss* or *s*, Lat. *missum*, past part of *mittere*, to *send*, *visum*, past part of *videre*, to *see*. In Germ. *pt*, *ps* became *ft*, *fs*; *kt*, *ks* became *xt*, *xs*, and *tt*, *ts* became *ss* or, after a long vowel, *s*. Later *ss* was frequently replaced by *st* from the influence of forms in which *st* was regular.

Examples of the twofold development which might thus arise in Germanic from one root are Goth. *bugjan*, O.E. *bycgan*, to *buy*, from Indg. **bhughjonom*, but Goth. *baúhtia*, O.E. *bohte*, in the pret from Indg. **bhuktēt*; O.E. *etan*, to *eat*, from an Indg. root **ed*, cf. Lat. *edere*, but O.E. *æts*, *food*, from Indg. **ēttis*, older **ēdtis*; O.E. *giefan*, to *give*, from an Indg. root **ghebh*, but O.E. *ȝift*, *wedding*, from Indg. **gheptis*; Goth. *skapjan*, O.E. *scieppan*, to *create*, from an Indg. root **skob*, but O.E. *scaft*, *shaft*, *zescraft*, *creature*, from Indg. **skoptis* (cf. Grk. Dor. *σκάντρον*, *staff*), O.E. *witan*, to *know*, from an Indg. root **wid* (cf. Lat. *videre*, to *see*), but O.E. pret *wisse*, from Indg. **wittēt*, and 2nd pers. singular O.E. *wāst* for **wās*, from Indg. **woitta*, older **woidtha* (§ 58, Note). Other examples are O.E. *būzan*, to *bend*, beside *byht*, a *bay*, *hebban*, to *raise*, beside *hæft*, *handle*, *hātan*, to *command*, beside *hās*, a *command*, *mæz*, *I may*, beside the pret *mihte*, and *meaht*, *power*.

VELARS

§ 59. The treatment of Velars in Germanic has been much obscured by analogical formation. They are not of frequent occurrence, but, as a knowledge of their history is wanted to explain the divergent forms of the much used verbs to *see* and to *come*, a brief account is given here.

Indo-Germanic possessed, besides the palatals treated above, velars or consonants formed under the soft palate. These were pronounced sometimes with labialization, or rounding of the lips, sometimes without. In the second case their history in Germanic is that of the palatals and calls for no further notice. If, however, they were pronounced with labialization, the labial element was preserved in Germanic under certain conditions, *q* becoming *xw*

and in O E *hw* initially, but elsewhere *h*; *g* becoming *q* (*kw* in sound, written *cw* in O E) and *gh* giving *ƿw*, which became *w* in O E. It has been thought that the labial element was kept before the Indg non-labial vowels, *a*, *ā*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, which gave Germ *a*, *ō*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, and not in other positions, but the question is not settled. Examples are Lat. *quis*, O E *hwā*, *who*, whence *hw* was introduced into *hwæt*, Lat. *quod*; Indg **giwus*, Lat. *vīvus*, O E *cwicu*, *alive, quick*; O E *cwōmon*, *came*, from an older **qēmum* (§ 29, 1, *d*), beside the infinitive *cuman*; O E *sāwon*, pret plur. of *sēon*, *to see*, beside Anglian *sæjon*.

Note —The full explanation of the variation in the consonants of these verbs is as follows. While the Indg infinitive **sequonom* (cf. Lat. *sequor*, *I follow*) gave Germ **sehana(n)*, and O E. *sēon* for **seohan*, *to see*, and the Indg pret plur indicative **sēqnt* gave Germ **sēhun*, later *sēzun* (§ 61), O E. *sæjon* (preserved in the Anglian dialects), the Indg pret subjunctive **sēqint* gave Germ **sæjwin*, O E *sāwen*, with *w* from *ƿ* *v*, with the labial element kept before the *i*. From this was made the WS indicative *sāwon*. In the same way O E *cuman* goes back to a Germ **kumanan*, but O E. *cwōmon* to a Germ. **qēmum*, from Indg **gēmunt*.

§ 60 In a few instances Indg labialized *q* was replaced in Pre-Germanic by the labial *p*, if the syllable contained another labial consonant. This *p* then fell in with the original Indg *p* and became *f* in Germ, as in Lat. *quattuor*, general Indg **qetwores*, but Pre-Germ **petuores*, Goth. *fidwor*, O E. *fēower*, *four*, Lat. *quinque*, general Indg **penque*, but Pic-Germ **penpe*, Goth. *fimf*, O E. *fif*, *five*, general Indg **ulqos*, but Pre-Germ. **ulpos*, Goth. *wulfs*, O E. *wulf*, *wolf*.

VERNER'S LAW

§ 61 Early in Primitive Germanic the voiceless spirants, *f*, *þ*, *x*, *χw*, which had arisen according to § 55, and *s* underwent an important modification. They remained only when initial or when preceded by the principally accented vowel of the word. In other positions they were voiced, becoming *b*, *ð*, *z*, *ƿw* and *z* respectively.

A commonly accepted formulation of this law is that the medial and final voiceless spirants *f*, *þ*, *x*, *χw* and *s* became voiced regularly to *b*, *ð*, *z*, *ƿw* and *z* when the vowel immediately preceding

them did not, according to the original Indg system of accentuation, bear the principal accent of the word

In O E **þ** was written **f**; by a later law **ð** passed into **d** (§ 66), **χw** into **h** (§ 59), **nχ** into **χ**, later **h** (§ 63), **ʒw** into **w** (§ 59), **ng** remained, and **z** became **r** (§ 66). The pairs of consonants which arose by this law are therefore represented in O E by **þ** (**ð**) and **d**; **h** and **g**; **h** and **w**; **h** and **ng**; **s** and **r**, while in the labials the distinction is lost in writing.

Examples are most clearly seen in the conjugation of strong verbs. In Indo-Germanic the position of the accent had been variable. In Pre-Germanic it had fallen on the stem syllable in all forms of the present and in the pret. sing. indic., but in the pret. plur. indic., the pret. subj. and past part. it was on a syllable of the ending; in those parts of the verb therefore the second form of the consonant is found (see Chap. V, § 53). Thus in Primitive Germanic we get an infin. **werþanan*, to become, pret. sing. **warþ*, but pret. plur. **wurðun*, past part. **wordenaz*, and similarly **tēuχanan*, to draw, **tāuχ*, but **tuʒun*, **toʒenáz*; **séhanan*, to see, **sáh*, but **sæʒun*, **sæʒwīn*, **seʒwenáz* (§ 59, Note), *fa(n)χanan*, to seize, but **fefangun*, **fangenáz*; **wésanan*, to be, **wás*, but **wæʒun*, **wezenaz*, and in O E *weorðan*, *wearþ*, but *wurdon*, *worden*; *tēon* (older **tēoχan*), *tēah*, but *tuʒon*, *toʒen*; *sēon* (older **seoχan*), *seah*, but *sæʒon* (*sāwon*), *seʒen* (*sewen*); *fōn* (older **fōχan*), but *fēngon*, *fangen*; *wesan*, *wæs*, but *wæron*.

On the other hand Prim. Germ. pret. sing. *hōf*, raised, plur. **hōbun*, past part. **habenáz* became in O E *hōf*, *hōfon*, *hafen*, with the distinction lost.

§ 62. Examples of Verner's Law in other parts of speech than strong verbs are O E *cyre*, choice, beside *cēosan*, to choose, *cwīde*, a speech, beside *cweðan*, to speak, *dēad*, dead, beside *dēaþ*, death, *lyre*, loss, beside *forlēosan*, to lose, *lād*, journey, and *lēdan*, to lead, beside *liðan*, to go, travel; *ræran*, to rear, beside *rīsan*, to rise, *sand*, a message, and *sendan*, to send, beside *sið*, a journey, earlier **sinþs*; *-toʒa*, in *heretoʒa*, leader, beside *tēon*, from **tēoχan*, to draw, lead out, the suffix *-tiʒ*, as in *twēntiʒ*, twenty, etc., beside *tien*, O.H.G. *tehan*, ten, *wyrd*, fate, beside *weorðan*, to become.

Note 1.—For this voicing of a voiceless consonant, except initially and after an accented vowel, cf. the pronunciation in N.E. of *x*, as in *exercice* and *exért*.

Note 2.—After Verner's Law had worked, the accent was fixed on the root syllable of the word (§ 5)

Note 3.—It will be observed that the two phenomena of Verner's Law and Vowel Gradation (§ 53) are results of the same cause, the variable position of the accent in the parent language, as seen respectively in consonants and vowels.

LOSS OF N

§ 63 After Verner's Law had worked, but still in the Prim Germ. period, *n* fell before the spirant *x*, with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (§ 20) Examples are. Goth *fāhan*, O.E. **fōhan* > *fōn* (§ 73, 2), *to save*, from older **fanxanan*, beside the past part O.E. *zefangen*, in which *n* has been kept before *g*; Goth. *þeihan*, O.E. **þihan* > *þiohan* > *þēon* (§ 30), *to prosper*, from **pinhanan*, beside O.E. *zefungen*, *excellent*, the past part. used as an adjective, the preterites, Goth *þāhta*, O.E. *þōhte*, *thought*, and Goth *þūhta*, O.E. *þūhte*, *seemed*, beside the presents Goth *þagkjan*, O.E. *þencean*, *to think*, and Goth. *þugkjan*, O.E. *þyncean*, *to seem*, with *n* preserved before *k*

DOUBLINGS

§ 64. Later, during the W Germ. period, a number of double consonants arose. Every single consonant except *r* was doubled after a short vowel before *j*. The double voiced spirants, *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, which arose from this cause, became the stop consonants, *bb*, *dd*, *gg*, written *cg* in O.E. Examples are Goth plur. *badja*, O.E. *bedd*, *beds*; Goth *bidjan*, O.E. *biddan*, *to pray*, Goth. *hafjan*, O.E. *hebban*, through the stage **habjan* (§ 61), *to raise*; Goth *halja*, O.E. *hell*, *hell*, Goth plur *kunja*, O.E. *cynn*, *race*; Goth. *lagjan*, O.E. *lecgan*, *to lay*; Goth *satjan*, O.E. *settan*, *to set*; Goth *sibja*, O.E. *sibb*, *peace*, Goth *skapjan*, O.E. *sceppan*, *to scathe*; Goth. *gatamjan*, O.E. *temman*, *to tame*, but Goth. *harjis*, O.E. *here*, *army*; Goth. *nasjan*, older **nazjan*, O.E. *nerian* (§ 66), *to save*, with *r* undoubled.

Note.—*j* had disappeared at an earlier date before *i* (§ 74, 2), hence this doubling did not take place in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. pres. indic. and in the imperative sing. of verbs, since the personal endings of these forms had been in Prim. Germ. *-is*, *-ip*, and *-i*. Cf. O.E. *hefest*, *hefeð*, *hefe*, beside *hebban*, *to raise*, *ležest*, *ležeð*, *leže*, beside *lecgan*, *to lay*; *setest*, *seteð*, *sete*, beside *settan*, *to set*.

§ 65. While a large proportion of the O E double consonants is due to this source, a few arose at this time from other causes

(a) *p, t, k, χ* were doubled after short vowels by an *l* or *r* which followed immediately. Examples are O Icel *epli*, O E. *æppel*, *apple*; Goth. *baitrs*, O E *bitter*, *bitter*, Goth *snutrs*, O E *snottor*, *wise*; Goth. *tagrs*, W Germ **tahr*, O E (North) *tæhher*, *tear*.

Note —A vowel was developed in early W Germ before any liquid or nasal which had become sonant by the loss of final syllables in Prim. Germ. (§ 43, B, 4), as in Goth *máiþms*, older **maiþmaz*, *gift*, O.E. *māþpum*, *treasure*, Goth *fugls*, older **fuzlaz*, O.E. *fuȝol*, *fowl*, Goth. *snutrs*, older **snutraz*, O E. *snotor*, *wise*. Doubling could take place, therefore, only in the inflected forms in which the liquid or nasal still followed the final consonant of the root immediately, from those it was frequently borrowed into the uninflected forms as above. On the other hand in some cases the single consonant of the uninflected forms was carried through, as in Goth. *akrs*, O.E. *aecer*, *acre*, *field*, O E. *tēar*, older **tahur*, *tear*.

(b) Another small number of doubled consonants arose in the *n*-declension in those cases in which the *n* stood immediately after the final consonant of the root. Later the doubled consonant was usually replaced by the single consonant of the other cases, but in a certain number of instances the converse took place and the double consonant was carried through the whole declension. Examples are *cnotta*, *knot*, *dogga*, *dog*; *ebba*, *ebb*, *frogga*, *frog*, *smilþe*, *smithy*; *stagga*, *stag*.

Note 1 —For the forms in which *n* originally followed the stem consonant cf. Goth *abnē*, gen plur, and *abnam*, dat. plur of *aba*, *man*, *watnam*, dat. plur. of *watō*, *water*, and O E. gen. plur. like *ēazna*, from *ēaze*, *eye*, *Francna*, gen. plur. of *Francan*, *Franks*.

Note 2.—The double back stop *gg* of O.E. is of this origin.

TREATMENT OF *Ū*, *Z* AND *R*

§ 66 During this period an isolative modification of two consonants took place

(a) Prim. Germ *ŭ* from Indg *dh* (§ 57), or due to Verner's Law (§ 61), became *d*, as Germ. **bičan*, Goth. *beidan* (*d* = *ŭ*), O.E. *bidan*,

to *abide*, Goth *háubidis*, gen sing of *háubiþ*, O E *hēafodes*, *hēafod*, *head*, Germ **wurðun*, O.E *wurdon*, pret plur indic of *weorðan*, to *become*

(b) *z* from Indg *z* or *s* by Verner's Law became *r*, as Goth *huzd*, O E *hord*, *hoard*, *treasure*, Goth *máiza*, O E *māra*, *more*. This *r* fell in O E when final, as Germ. **karōz*, Goth. *karōs*, O E. *cara*, plur of *cearu*, *care*, Germ **daʒaz*, Goth *daʒs*, O E *dæz*, *day*.

Note.—Comparatively late in the O.E period *r* sometimes underwent metathesis with a preceding vowel in words containing an *s* or *n*. Examples are Goth *brinnan*, O.E *biernan*, to *burn*, O H G *brestan*, O E *berstan*, to *burst*, O.H G. *gras*, O.E. *gærs*, *grass*, O.H G *hros*, O.E. *hors*, *horse*, Goth. *razn*, O E *ærn*, *house*, Goth., O.H.G. *rinnan*, O.E *iernan*, to *run*.

This metathesis took place too late for Breaking (§ 30) to follow. *Biernan* and *iernan* have borrowed their diphthongs from other verbs of the 3rd class of strong verbs, such as *weorðan*, to *become*, 3rd pers. sing *wierþ*.

II

TREATMENT OF GERMANIC CONSONANTS IN OLD ENGLISH

LOSS OF N

§ 67. *n*, which had already fallen in Prim Germ before *χ* (§ 63), fell in early O E before the other spirants, *f*, *s*, *þ*, with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel (§ 29), as in Goth *fimf*, O E *fif*, *five*, O H G *gans*, O E. *gōs*, *goose*, Goth *hansa*, O E *hōs*, *company*, Goth *munþs*, O E *mūþ*, *mouth*; Goth *sinþs*, O E *sīþ*, *journey*, *time*, W Germ **tanþ*, O H G *tand*, O E *tōþ*, *tooth*

Note.—Apparent exceptions are *clānsian*, older **clānisan*, to *cleanse*, in which the *n* came to stand before *s* only after the loss of a vowel, *pinsian*, to *consider*, borrowed from the Latin after this law had ceased to work, *manst*, and *canst*, 2nd pers sing of *munan*, to *think*, and *cunnan*, to *know*, in which the *s* was inserted later.

TREATMENT OF SPIRANTS

§ 68 The voiceless spirants, *f*, *s*, *þ*, became the corresponding voiced sounds, as heard in N E *v*, *z*, and the *th* in *then*, (a) between vowels, between a vowel and a liquid or nasal, and between a liquid and a vowel, (b) in unaccented syllables or words. Examples are

(a) O E gen. *lifes*, infin *ceorfan*, with the *v* sound beside a nom *lif*, *life*, or pret. sing *cearf*, *carved*, with that of *f*; O E *bysig*, *busy*, gen sing *hūses*, and *gærses*, with the *z* sound, beside a nom *hūs*, *house*, and *gærs*, *grass*, with that of *s*. Goth. *qīpan*, but O E *cweðan*, *to say*, Goth *máipms*, *gift*, but O E. *māðmas* (plur), *treasure*, Goth *wairpan*, but O E *weorðan*, *to become*; (b) Goth *af* with *f* sound, but O E of with that of *v*, *of*, *from*, Goth *dagōs* with sound of *s*, but O E *daȝas* with that of *z*, *days*; Goth *þata*, but O E *ðæt*, *that*, Goth *þus*, but O E *ðu*, *thou*

Note —For the use of the symbols *þ* and *ð* see Chap I, 4, a, Note

§ 69 Voiced *f* for Germ *f* (§§ 54, Note 2, 57) was unvoiced when final in an accented syllable, as Goth *gīban*, O E *giefan*, *to give*, and Goth *ī. airban*, O E *hweorfan*, *to turn*, in which *f* has the sound of *v*, but O.E. pret sing *ȝeaf* and *hwearf*, in which it has that of *f*; or O E *lēafes* (*f* = *v*), but nom *lēaf* (*f* = *f*), *leaf*.

GERMANIC PALATALS IN OLD ENGLISH

c

§ 70 In Chap. I, § 4, b, c some practical rules were given for the pronunciation of O E *c* and *g*, for the guidance of the beginner. A fuller treatment of the question is now possible. Germanic *k* was a voiceless back palatal stop with the sound of N E. *c* in *cool* (back 1), or of N E *k* in *kin* (back 2), see § 6, c, 1. In O E the writing *c* was adopted.

(1) Initially before the originally front vowels *æ*, *æ̃*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ĩ*, *ea*, *ēa*, *eo*, *ēo*, and their mutated forms, *e*, *ie*, *iẽ*, *c* (back 2) became a front palatal in O E, and during the O.E. period, at a time impossible to determine exactly, it was developed to the sound of N E. *ch*, though the writing *c* was retained. Medially the same development took place when *c* had been originally followed by *j* or *ĩ*, and finally when *c* stood after *i* or *ĩ*. Examples are *ceaf*, older **cæf* (§ 32), *chaff*; *ceald*, older **cæld* (§ 30), from *cald*, M E *chald*, *cold*, *ceorl*, older **cerl*, *churl*, *cieres*, Lat. *cerasum*, *cherry*; *cinn*, *chin*, *cidan*, *to chide*, *cēap*, Germ. **kaup* (§ 24), *cheap*, *cēosan*, Germ **keusan* (§ 25), *to choose*, *ciele* (§ 34), older **ceali* < **cæli*, *chill*, *ciese*, older **cēasi* < **cæsi*, Lat *cāseus*, *cheese*, *benc*, older **bank* *z*, *bench*, *spræc*, older **sprækiz*, *peech*, *peccan*, older **pakjan* (§ 64), *to cover*, *thatch*, *tæcan*, older **tāikjan*, *to teach*; *dīc*, *ditch*; *ic*, M.E. *ich*, *I*, *lic*, *body*, N E *lych* in *lychgate*.

Note — This development of the *c* began after the O E modification of the Germ diphthongs, since it occurs before *ēa* from Germ. *au*. It preceded Diphthongization (§ 32), which was due to the fronting of the consonant. It also preceded the working of *i* mutation, since it does not take place before front vowels due to that law, as in *cēne*, older **cōnja*, *keen*.

(2) Initially before back vowels, whether later mutated or not, and before consonants, and medially and finally, except in the positions given above, *c* remained a back palatal stop consonant

Initially before front vowels due to *i* mutation (§§ 33, 34), medially and finally in the neighbourhood of front vowels other than *i*, *c* was a back (2) palatal like N E *k* in *kin*, as in *cēne*, *keen*; *cyning*, *king*, *bæc*, *back*, gen *bæces*. In other positions it was a back (1) palatal like N E *c* in *cool*. Examples are. *cann*, *can*; *cōl*, *cool*, *cūp*, *known*, *clæne*, *clean*; *cnēo*, *knee*; *bacan*, *to bake*; *sprecan*, *to speak*, *bōc*, *book*.

§ 71. *sc* had a similar development to that of front *c*, becoming at some time during the O.E. period the sound represented in N E by *sh*, as in *scamu*, *shame*, *scān*, *shone*, *sceal*, *shall*, *scēap*, *sheep*, *sceolde*, *should*; *scēo*, *shoe*, *scuman*, *to shun*; *scieran*, *to shear*.

For the writing *sce* for *sc* before back vowels see Chap. II, § 32

3. g

§ 72 Germanic possessed a voiced back palatal stop *g* after *n* (§ 57), or when doubled (§§ 64, 65, *b*), and a voiced back palatal spirant *ɣ*

(1) In O E *g* became a front palatal stop when originally followed by a *j* (O E *cg*, *ng*), and at some time during the O E. period, impossible to determine exactly, this *g* was developed to the sound of *dg* in N E *edge*. Examples are Prim. Germ. **aɣjō*, W Germ. **aggu*, O E *ecg*, *sword*, Prim Germ **sajjan*, W Germ **saggan*, O E *secgan*, *to say*, Prim Germ **sangjan*, O E. *seng(e)an*, *to singe*.

(2) In other positions Germ *g* remained the back palatal stop (N.E. *g*) in O E, as in Goth *briggan*, O E *bringan*, *to bring*, O E. *dogga*, *dog*, O E *frogga*, *frog*; O E *zefangen*, past part of *fōn*, *to seize*, Goth. *laggs*, O.E. *lang*, *long*.

Note 1.—In O E the writing *cg* was generally used to distinguish the double front stop from the back, which was written *gg*.

Note 2.—The front *g* in the group *ng* was very rare. It may be detected by the mutation of the preceding vowel.

(3) During the O E period the back spirant *ɣ* became the back stop initially before back vowels, their mutated forms, and before consonants. Examples are O E *galan*, to *sing*, *gatu*, *gates*, *gēs*, *geese*, *gōd*, *good*, *guma*, *man*, *gylden*, *golden*, *grēne*, *green*, from earlier *ɣalan*, etc.

(4) In other positions Germ *ɣ* remained a spirant in O E, but its character varied according to position. Initially before the originally front vowels *æ*, *ǣ*, *e*, *ē*, *i*, *ī*, *ea*, *ēa*, *eo*, *ēo*, and their mutated forms *e*, *ie*, *īe*, *ɣ* was fronted to a sound approximately that of N E *y* in *young*.

Medially between and probably after front vowels and before *i* or *j*, and finally after front vowels, the development was the same. Examples are *ɣeard*, from **ɣærd* (§ 30), *yard*, *ɣeat*, from **ɣæst* (§ 32), *gate*, *ɣēac*, *cuckoo*, *ɣēafon*, older *ɣæfon*, *gave*, *ɣēotan*, to *pour*, *ɣiefan*, older *ɣefan*, to *give*, *ɣiest*, older **ɣeast* (§ 34), from **ɣæst*, *stranger*, *onɣinnan*, to *begin*, *byriɣ*, older **burɣiz*, *cities*, *byrɣan*, older **burɣjan* (§ 34), to *bury*, *dæɣ*, *gen sing dæɣes*, *day*, *weɣ*, *gen sing weɣes*, *way*, *wiɣa*, *warrior*.

(5) Medially between and probably after back vowels *ɣ* remained a back palatal spirant (§ 4, c), as in *boɣa*, *bow*, *daɣas*, *days*, *fuzol*, *bird*, *toɣen*, past part. of *tēon*, to *draw*.

(6) In early O E *ɣ* final was probably unvoiced to *χ* at the time that *þ* was unvoiced to *f* (§ 69). But *ɣ* was regularly reintroduced from related forms in which it had remained, being medial. In late O E, however, *χ*, written *h*, appears after back vowels and the liquids *r* and *l*, as in L O E *bōh*, earlier *bōɣ*, *bough*, *burh*, earlier *burɣ*, *borough*, *town*, *ɣenōh*, earlier *ɣenōɣ*, *enough*, *sorh*, earlier *sorɣ*, *sorrow*.

Note.—The conditions under which *ɣ* became the front palatal medially are not quite clear, analogical formations having obscured the question. Some authorities consider that it depended on the quality of the following vowel, not of the preceding, as given above.

(7) Front *ɣ* (i.e. *ɣ* after a front vowel) fell during the O E period before *d*, *ð*, and *n*, as in *brēdan*, from *breɣdan*, to *weave*, *brānɣish*,

frinan, from *friznan*, to ask, *māden*, from *mæzden*, marden, *rēn*, from *rezn*, rain, *wān*, from *wæzn*, warn, *waggon*

Note — *z* has been lost in two words after back vowels by analogy with forms in which it fell regularly, these are. *brōden* for *brozden*, past part. of *bre(3)dan*, to move quickly, and *frūnon*, *frūnen*, for *fruznon*, *fruznen*, pret. plur. and past part of *fri(3)nan*, to ask.

h

§ 73 (1) The Germanic spirant *χ* (§§ 54, Note 2; 55) became the aspirato *h* in O E initially before vowels and in the groups *hl*, *hn*, *hr*, as in *haud*, hand, *heorte*, heart, *hlēapan*, to leap, to run; *hnizān*, to bow, *hīæfen*, raven. It remained the voiceless palatal spirant, written *h*, in the groups *hw*, *ht*, when doubled and when final, as in *hwit*, white, *niht*, night, *hliehhan*, to laugh; *hēah*, high (§ 4, d)

(2) Medially between or before vowels *h* is found only in the earliest O E records. Intervocalic and antevocalic *h* fell about the year 700, with contraction or compensatory lengthening of the vowel (§§ 39, c, 49, 1). Examples are (a) *Intervocalic h*: O E *þēon*, from older **þiohan*, to prosper, O H G *dīhan*; *fēos*, from **feohes*, gen sing of *feoh*, property, *nēar*, from older **nēahor*, comparative of *nēah*, near, *sēon*, from older **seohan*, to see, O H G *sehan*; *slēan*, from older **sleahan*, to strike, O H G *slahan*. (b) *Antevocalic h*: *mēares*, gen sing of *mearh*, horse, *sēoles*, gen sing of *seolh*, seal.

Note — It will be observed that the loss of *h* was later than Breaking.

j

§ 74 (1) Germ *j* was a front palatal spirant. Initially it remained in *j*, falling in with the front palatal *z* (§ 72, 4), and was expressed generally by the same symbol *z*, as Goth *jēr*, O E *zēar*, year, Goth *zūk*, O E *zeoc*, yoke, Goth *juggs*, O E *zeong*, young.

Note 1. — For the writing *ze* before back vowels see § 32.

Note 2. — The writing *i* occurs sometimes in Anglian texts, especially before *u*, as in *iung*, young.

(2) (a) Medial *j* fell early before a following *i*, as in Goth *lagjls*, Pre-O E **lazis*, O E *lezest*, *layest*, beside Goth *lagjan*, O E *leccgan*, to lay (§ 64, Note), and after a long syllable ending in a consonant, whether originally long or become so by doubling (§ 64), as in Goth *dōmjan*, O E *dēman*, to judge, Goth *hairdjōs*, O E *hierdas*,

shepherds; Goth *badja*, O E *bedde*; Goth *kunja*, O E *cynne*, dat sing of *bedd*, *bed*, and *cynn*, *kin*

(b) *j* also probably fell between vowels, as in Germ **salbōjan*, O E *sealfian*, *to salve*, Germ **winljōn*, O E *winia*, gen plur of *wine*, *friend*

(c) *j* was vocalized to *i* in O E after a short syllable ending in *-r* (§ 64), as in Goth. *harjōs*, O E. *herias*, *armies*; Goth *nasjan*, O.E. *nerian*, *to save*

Note.—A glide *ɜ*, or *ʒe* before *a*, was frequently introduced later between *i* and the following vowel, as in *hērizeas*, nom plur, and *herize*, dat sing of *here*, *army*, *sealfizean*, infin, and *sealfize*, 1st pers sing, *I salve*, *winizea*, gen plur. of *wine*, *friend*

(3) *j* which had become final in O E after the loss of an unaccented syllable (§§ 41, 43) was vocalized to *i*, later *e*, as in Germ **harjaz*, O E *heri* > *here*, *army*; Germ. **hirdjaz*, O E. *hierdi* > *hlerde*, *shepherd*, Germ **rikjam*, O E **rici* > *rice*, *kingdom*

Note.—Nouns with double consonants in the nom. sing, such as *bedd*, *bed*, *cynn*, *kin*, are new formations from the inflected forms. The true nom. forms would be **bede* for **badi*, Germ **badjam*; **cyne* for **cuni*, Germ **kunjam*.

GERMANIC W IN OLD ENGLISH

§ 75 (1) Initial *w* remained as a rule in O E, as in Goth *waldan*, O E *wealdan*, *to rule*, Goth *wlgs*, O E *wez*, *way*, Goth *winds*, O E *wind*, *wind*, Goth *wulfs*, O E *wulf*, *wolf*, Goth *wlits*, O E *wlite*, *appearance*, Goth *wraka*, O E *wracu*, *persecution*, or after consonants, as in Goth *qēns*, O E *cwēn*, *queen*, *woman*, Goth *hras*, O E. *hwā*, *who*, Goth *swē*, O E *swē*, *so*.

Note—Initial *w* was lost in three verbs after the negative particle *ne*, contraction of the vowels following. These verbs are *wesan*, *to be*, *willan*, *to will*, and *witan*, *to know*, as in the negative forms *næs*, *I was not*; *nyllen*, *will not*, *nāt*, *I know not*. (Cf. §§ 197, Note 4; 210, c, Note, 213)

(2) (a) Medial *w* fell before *u*, as in Germ **badwu*, O E *beadu*, *battle*, beside dat. sing. *beadwe*; Germ dat. plur. **zatwum*, O E *zeatum*, beside nom plur *zeatwe*, *ornaments*; L.O.E. *betuh* for *betwuh* < *betweoh*, *between*; L.O.E. *cucu* for *cwucu* < *cwicu*, *alive* (§ 38, b).

(b) *w* also fell before *i*, as in Germ **zarwida*, O E *glerede*, beside *gierwan*, *to prepare*, Germ **sáiwiz*, O E *sæ*, *sea*

(c) Between consonants *w* became *o*, as in acc sing masc *gearone*, fem gen sing *gearore*, beside *geawes*, gen sing masc. of *gearu*, *ready*.

(3) Finally, *w* was vocalized to *u*, which had the same later history as original *u* (§ 43, A, 4). It fell after a long syllable, as in Goth *snáiwis*, O E *snā*, *snow*, Goth *gáidw*, O E *gād*, *lack*, but remained after a short syllable ending in a consonant, as in *bearu*, nom sing of *bearwas*, *grove*, *gearu*, nom sing, beside plur *gearwe*, *ready*; and formed a diphthong with a preceding short vowel as in nom sing *trēo*, *tree*, from **treu* < **trew*, beside gen sing. *trewes*; *pēo*, *servant*, from **peu* < **pew*, beside gen. sing *pewes*.

In many of the above cases *w* was, however, often reintroduced from related forms in which it had remained, as in O.E. *zeatwum*, *sæw*, *gierwede*, *snæw*, *trēow*, *pēow*.

Note.—In earliest O E the writings *u*, *uu* are used for *w*, later the runic *ƿ* becomes general

O E. DOUBLING

§ 76. In late O E *p*, *t*, *k*, were doubled after long vowels and *d* after all vowels, short or long, before an *r* which followed immediately. The doubled consonant was then frequently borrowed from the forms in which it was regular into other cases of nouns and adjectives. Examples are E O E. *dēopra*, comparative of *dēop*, *deep*, L O E *dēoppra*; E O E *ātres*, gen sing of *ātor*, *poison*, L O E. *āttres*, *āttor*; E O E *grietra*, comparative of *grēat*, *great*, L O E. *griettra*; E O E *ricra*, comparative of *rice*, *mighty*, L O E. *riccra*; E O E *ætgedre*, *together*, L O E *ætgeddre*; E O E *mōdrize*, *aunt*, L O E *mōddrize*; E O E *nædre*, *adder*, L O E *næddre*.

Either at the same time or later, but before the end of the O E. period, the long vowel was shortened, giving *deoppa*, *attor*, etc.

Note—In connection with this O.E. doubling before *r* compare § 64

CONSONANT SHORTENING

§ 77 Double (or long) consonants were shortened

(a) When final, as in *æfen*, nom sing *evening*, beside gen. sing *æfennes*; *feor*, older *feorr*, *far*, *weal*, nom. sing *uall*, beside gen sing *wealles*.

(b) Before or after another consonant, as in *clerdon*, pret plus

of *clerran*, to turn; *ealra*, gen plur of *eall*, all, *flelp*, 3rd sing pres indic of *feallan*, to fall, *wedbryce*, breach of agreement, beside *wedd*, agreement, *andwyrdon* for *andwyrddon*, pret plur of *andwyrdan*, to answer.

(c) In unaccented syllables, as in *fol*, unaccented form of *full*, *full*, *gydena*, gen plur for *gydenna*, goddesses, *rōdehenge*, dat sing for *rōdehengen*, crucifixion.

Note.—*cg*, the writing for front *gg*, is never shortened.

ASSIMILATION

§ 78 Two consonants of like character are generally assimilated if they come to stand together. Examples are very common, but two large classes may be distinguished. These are —

(a) In the 2nd and 3rd pers sing of the pres indic of verbs, as in O E *bitst*, *bit*, for *bid(e)st*, *bid(e)ð*, *prayest*, *prays*, *sitst*, *sit*, for *sit(e)st*, *sit(e)ð*, *sittest*, *sits*; *stentst*, *stent*, for *stend(e)st*, *stend(e)ð*, *standest*, *stands*.

(b) In the preterites of weak verbs of Class 1, as in O E *cȳdde* for *cȳðde*, from *cȳðan*, to make known; *sette* for **setede*, from *settan*, to set, *iecte* for **iecede*, from *iēcan*, to increase. Further examples are *em* for *em*, from *efn*, even, *hræm* for *hræmn*, from *hræfn*, raven. For others see Chap X, §§ 153, 4, 179.

Note.—Assimilation may be total, as in *bit*, or partial, as in *bi'st*, progressive, as in *bitst*, retrogressive, as in *iecte*.

ACCIDENCE

CHAPTER VII

NOUNS

§ 79 Ten declensions of nouns are to be distinguished in O.E. These are the *a-*, *ō-*, *i-* and *u-* or vocalic declensions, the *n-*, *mono-syllabic*, *þ-*, *r-*, *nd-* and *os-es* or consonant declensions.

Of these only the *a-*, *ō-*, *i-* and *n-*declensions contain any great number of nouns. So few remain in the other classes that for practical purposes they may be treated as lists of exceptions.

Note 1.—The terms vocalic and consonant are used on historic grounds, according to whether the stem ended in the earliest (Indg.) period of the language in a vowel or a consonant. The names of the individual declensions represent the form of those vowels and consonants in Germanic. Thus the stem of O.E. *hām*, *home*, was in early Germanic **hāima*, to which were added the endings of the various cases, as in the nom. sing *hāima-z*. By the O.E. period the meaning of the terms had in many cases become obscured owing to the loss or weakening of unaccented syllables (§ 41 ff.), though it is still to be seen fairly clearly in Gothic.

Note 2.—In some grammars the first and second declensions are called *o* and *ā* respectively, since those were the forms of the final vowels of the stems in Indo-Germanic. In others, as here, they are called *a* and *ō* because, since Indg. *o* became *a* and Indg. *ā* became *ō* in Germ. (§ 12), those were the forms of the final vowels in Germanic.

§ 80. The O.E. Noun has two numbers, singular and plural; three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, and four cases, nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative, with traces of a fifth, the locative. It will be seen, from the paradigms which follow, that the accusative has frequently the same form as the nominative.

It should be observed that all genitive plurals end in **-a** (sometimes **en-a**), that **-es** always indicates genitive singular and is the usual ending for masculine and neuter nouns, that **-um** is the universal ending of the dative plural, and in nouns occurs only in the dative plural, and that **-as** may be taken as the representative ending of the nominative and accusative plural of masculine, **-a** of feminine, and **-u** of neuter nouns, as far as the latter have a plural ending. Other endings will, however, be found for masculines and feminines.

VOCALIC DECLENSIONS

a- DECLENSION

§ 81 This declension contains masculine and neuter nouns only, and corresponds to the Greek declension of masculine nouns in **-os**, and neuters in **-ov**, Latin **-us** and **-um**. It is subdivided into pure **a-** stems, **ja-** stems, and **wa-** stems

PURE "a" STEMS

MASCULINE

§ 82 Here belong all compound nouns formed with the suffixes **-dōm**, **-els**, **-ing** (not having abstract meaning), and **-stæf**; those in **-aþ**, **-oþ**, and **-hād**, which originally belonged to the **u-** declension, and nearly all masculine nouns which end in a consonant and have an unmutated vowel

§ 83. (a) Monosyllabic Nouns

Sing.

Nom. Acc.	hām , <i>home</i>	dæg , <i>day</i>	seolh , <i>seal</i>	sc(e)oh , <i>shoe</i>
Gen.	hāmes	dæges	sēoles	sc(e)ōs
Dat.	hāme	dæge	sēole	sc(e)ō

Plur

Nom. Acc.	hāmas	dagas	sēolas	sc(e)ōs
Gen	hāma	daga	sēola	sc(e)ōna
Dat	hāmum	dazum	sēolum	sc(e)ōm, sc(e)ōum

Examples of Nouns declined like **hām** are: **āþ**, *oath*; **bāt**, *boat*; **bēaz**, *ring*; **būr**, *chamber*; **cēap**, *price, property*; **cniht**, *youth*; **eorl**, *nobleman*; **flsc**, *fish*; **flēam**, *flight*; **geard**, *yard*; **hlāf**, *loaf*; **hund**, *dog*; **mōr**, *moor*; **rāp**, *rope*; **stōl**, *seat*; **swān**, *peasant*; **tūn**, *village*; **weȝ**, *way*; **wer**, *man*.

The following are declined like *dæg*: *hwæl*, *whale*, *pæþ*, *path*; *stæf*, *staff*. Like *seolh* go *healh*, *corner*, *mearh*, *horse*, *wealh*, *foreigner*. Like *sc(e)oh* goes *eoh*, *horse*.

Note 1—For the interchange of *æ* with *a* see § 27. A similar interchange of *æ* with *ā* is seen in *mæ̃*, *kinsman*, plur. *mā̃*as or *mæ̃*as, with *æ* from the sing (§ 23).

Note 2—For the loss of *h* see §§ 35, c, 40, 1, 73, 2.

Note 3.—Traces of a locative are seen in *tēdæg*, *to-day*; *tōmorȝen*, *to-morrow*, and *hām*, *home*, used as dative.

§ 84.

(b) Dissyllabic Nouns

ng						
Nom.	}	dryhten, lord	hlāford, lord	cýning, king	heorot, hart	fuȝol, brd
Acc						
Gen		dryhtnes	hlāfordes	cýninges	heorotes	fuȝles
Dat		dryhtne	hlāforde	cýninge	heorote	fuȝle
Nom.	}	dryhtnas	hlāfordas	cýningas	heorotas	fuȝlas
Acc						
ten		dryhtna	hlāforda	cýninga	heorota	fuȝla
lat		dryhtnum	hlāfordum	cýningum	heorotum	fuȝlum

Examples of nouns declined like *dryhten* are. *engel*, *angel*; *ēðel*, *native land*, *ealdor*, *prince*; *cyrtel*, *coat*; *winter*, *winter* (originally *u*-decl.)

Examples like *cýning* and *hlāford* are *æðeling*, *prince*, *fætel*, *vessel*, *hærfest*, *harvest*, *autumn*, *hengest*, *horse*.

Like *heorot* go *eodor*, *enclosure*, *metod*, *creator*; *rodor*, *sky*; *sumor*, *summer* (originally *u*-decl.); and like *fuȝol* go *ofen*, *oven*, *þezēn*, *thane*, and others.

Note 1.—A short medial vowel followed by a single consonant falls before the case ending, if it is preceded by a long syllable or by more than one syllable (see § 44).

Note 2—In the case of suffixes in *i*, *m*, *n*, *r*, exceptions occur with apparent loss of the medial vowel after short syllables, as in *fuȝles*. Such suffixes go back to earlier *f*, *m*, *n*, *r*, and the vowel was not developed except in the uninflected forms (§ 43, B, 4). Nominatives like *ofn*, *þezn*, which occur, are new formations from the inflected forms.

Note 3—Nouns in *-oþ*, *-aþ*, usually keep the middle vowel, as in dat sing. *fiscoðe*, *fishing*, *huntoðe*, *hunting*.

NEUTER

§ 85. All nouns in -lāc, -inzel, and nearly all neuters belong here.

(a) *Monosyllabic Nouns*

Sing.					
Nom	}	land, <i>land</i>	scip, <i>ship</i>	fæt, <i>vessel</i>	feorh, <i>life</i>
Acc					feoh, <i>property</i>
Gen.		landes	scipes	fætes	fēores
Dat		lande	scipe	fæte	fēore
Plur					fēo
Nom	}	land	scipu	fatu	feorh
Acc					
Gen.		landa	scipa	fata	fēora
Dat		landum	scipum	fatum	fēorum

Examples of nouns declined like *land* are . *bān*, *bone*, *bord*, *board*, *dēor*, *wild beast*; *folc*, *folk*, *zēar*, *year*, *hors*, *horse*, *hūs*, *house*, *lic*, *body*; *mōd*, *heart*, *scēap*, *sheep*, *swin*, *pig*, *þing*, *thing*; *word*, *word*

Examples like *scip* are . *god*, *god*, *hof*, *dwelling*; *spor*, *track*, *zewrit*, *writing*

The following are declined like *fæt*: *fær*, *journey*; *græf*, *grave*, *hæf*, *inlet of the sea*, *scræf*, *cave*, *stæþ*, *shore*, *swæþ*, *track*, *træf*, *tent*, *wæd*, *wave*; *wæl*, *slaughter*. *zeat*, *gate* (§ 32), has plural forms *gatu*, *gata*, etc (§ 27)

Note 1.—It will be seen that the declension of neuter nouns differs from that of masculines in the nominative and accusative plural only.

Note 2.—In early O E. final *u* was lost after long monosyllables (§ 43, A, 4)

Note 3.—For loss of *h* see §§ 39, c; 40, 1, 73, 2.

§ 86.

(b) *Dissyllabic Nouns*

Sing.				
Nom. Acc.	}	hēafod, <i>head</i>	wæp(e)n, <i>weapon</i>	wæter, <i>water</i>
Gen.		hēafdes	wæpnes	wæteres
Dat		hēafde	wæpne	wætere
Plur				
Nom. Acc.	}	hēaf(o)du	wæpn(u)	wæter
Gen.		hēafda	wæpna	wætera
Dat		hēafdum	wæpnum	wæterum

Examples of nouns declined like *hēafod* are . *mynster*, *minster*, *nieten*, *animal*; examples like *wæpen* are *ātor*, *poison*, *hēacer*

beacon, *tācen*, *token*, and like *wāter*: *gafol*, *tribute*; *hræzel*, *garment*, *lezer*, *couch*, *werod*, *troop*.

Note 1.—The rule for the syncope of the medial vowel is the same as for masculine nouns, except in the nominative and accusative plural. Dissyllabic nouns with long first syllables retain the final *u* of the plural, and later the medial vowel is often synocopated, dissyllabic nouns with short first syllables lose the final *u* (§ 43, A, 4).

Note 2.—In *wāpen*, the *en* was originally *ŋ*, the *e*, therefore, belongs to the nom. and acc. sing. only (§ 43, B, 4), the nom. *wāpn* is a new formation from the inflected forms. In the nominative and accusative plural the *u* is lost, since *wāpn* is a long syllable and an *e* is sometimes introduced from the singular. An irregular plur. *wāpnu* is also found, on the model of *hēafdu*.

Note 3.—In both masculine and neuter nouns there is, especially in later texts, much irregularity in the treatment of dissyllabic nouns, and of those which were earlier monosyllabic, having stems in *l̥*, *ŋ*, *ŋ*, *ŋ*.

[a- STEMS

§ 37.

MASCULINE

Sing.

Nom. Acc.	<i>secg</i> , <i>man</i>	<i>hierde</i> , <i>herdsman</i>	<i>here</i> , <i>army</i>
Gen.	<i>secges</i>	<i>hierdes</i>	<i>heries</i> , <i>herzes</i> , <i>herizes</i>
Dat.	<i>secge</i>	<i>hierde</i>	<i>herie</i> , <i>herze</i> , <i>herize</i>

Plur.

Nom. Acc.	<i>secg(e)as</i>	<i>hierdas</i>	<i>herias</i> , <i>herzas</i> , <i>heriz(e)as</i>
Gen.	<i>secg(e)a</i>	<i>hierda</i>	<i>heria</i> , <i>heriza</i> , <i>heriz(e)a</i>
Dat.	<i>secg(i)um</i>	<i>hierdum</i>	<i>herium</i> , <i>herizum</i>

Nouns declined like *secg* are *bridd*, *young bird*; *hrycg*, *back*; *mæcg*, *man*, and all masculine nouns ending in a doubled consonant after a mutated vowel (§§ 33, 34, 64)

Like *hierde* go *ende*, *end*, *esne*, *servant*, *læce*, *physician*, and all masculine nouns ending in *-e* after a long syllable containing a mutated vowel, and also all nouns in *-ere*, such as *fiscere*, *fisherman*; *fuzelere*, *fowler*.

NEUTER

Sing.

Nom. Acc.	cynn , <i>kn</i>	<i>rice, kingdom</i>	<i>fiðere, wing</i>	<i>wēsten, wilder</i>
Gen.	cynnes	<i>rices</i>	<i>fiðeres</i>	<i>wēstennes</i>
Dat.	cynne	<i>rice</i>	<i>fiðere</i>	<i>wēstenne</i>

Plur.

Nom. Acc.	cynn	<i>ric(i)u</i>	<i>fiðeru</i>	<i>wēstennu</i>
Gen.	cynna	<i>rica</i>	<i>fiðera</i>	<i>wēstenna</i>
Dat.	cynnum	<i>ricum</i>	<i>fiðerum</i>	<i>wēstennum</i>

Nouns declined like **cynn** are *bedd*, *bed*, *bill*, *sword*, *flett*, *floor*; *zledd*, *song*, and all neuter nouns ending in a doubled consonant after a mutated vowel (§§ 33, 34, 64)

Like *rice* go *ærende*, *erland*, *ierre*, *anger*; *stycce*, *piece*, *wite*, *punishment*; *zephode*, *language*, and all neuters ending in -e after a long syllable, except *ēaze*, *eye*, *ēare*, *ear*, and *wange*, *cheek*, which belong to the -u declension.

Like *wēsten* go *fæsten*, *fastness*; *rȳmet*, *space*, and all neuter nouns in -en and -et. For the simplification of -nn, -tt when final see § 77, c.

rice and *wēsten* have plurals in u since they are dissyllabic and have the first syllable long

Note.—Nouns with **ja-** stems differ from those with pure **a-** stems in nom. and acc. only. In these nouns the **a** characteristic of the declension was originally preceded by **j** which having become final by the loss of **a** (§ 43, A, 3), was vocalized to **i** in OE and later became **e** (§ 74, 3). This **e** was preserved after long stems and after short stems in -r, as in *hierde*, *here*, *fiðere*, but in nouns in which doubling had taken place in the inflected forms (§ 64) a new nom. was made from those forms, as in *secg* for **seje*; *cynn* for **cyne*.

wa- STEMS

§ 88.

MASCULINE

Sing.

Nom. Acc.	snā(w) , <i>snow</i>	þeo(w) , <i>servant</i>	bearu , <i>grove</i>
Gen.	snāwes	þeowes , <i>þeowes</i>	bearwes
Dat.	snāwe	þeowe , <i>þeowe</i>	bearwe

Plur.

Nom. Acc.	snāwas	þeowas , <i>þeowas</i>	bearwas
Gen.	snāwa	þeowa , <i>þeowa</i>	bearwa
Dat.	snāwum	þeowum , <i>þeowum</i>	bearwum

NEUTER

Sing.

Nom. Acc.	trēo(w), <i>tree</i>	bealu, <i>evil</i>
Gen.	treowes, trēowes	bealwes
Dat.	treowe, trēowe	bealwe

Plur

Nom. Acc.	trēo(w)	bealu
Gen.	treowa, trēowa	bealwa
Dat.	treowum, trēowum	bealwum

Like *þeow* are declined : *lāreow*, *teacher*; *þeaw*, *custom*, and a few others.

Like *trēo(w)* go *cnēo(w)*, *knee*; *hlēo(w)*, *protection*; *strēa(w)*, *straw*, and a few others

Like *bealu* go *searu*, *device*, and *teoru*, *tar*.

Note.—By *wa-* stems are meant nouns in which the final “a” of the stem was preceded by a *w*. In O.E. in the nom. and acc. sing. the *w* had become final after the loss of *a* (§ 43, A, 3) and had been vocalized to *u* (§ 75, 3). This *u* remained after a short syllable ending in a consonant, as in *bearu*, but fell after a long syllable, as in *snā*. After a short vowel it formed a diphthong with that vowel, which had then the regular development of Germ. diphthongs in O.E. (§§ 23-26). Thus Germ. **þeu*, from **þewaz*, became O.E. *þeo*.

Later *w* was reintroduced into nom. and acc. sing. from the inflected forms in which it had remained, giving O.E. *snāw*, *þeow*, and the long diphthong of the nom. and acc. sing., due to the vocalization of final *w*, was carried into the inflected forms, giving gen. *þeowes* for *þewes*, etc. For the short diphthong *eow* for *ew*, see § 38, a

In the neuter plural *w* fell before the ending *u* of the nom. and acc. (§ 75, 2, a), and the *u* or the diphthong which thus arose had the same history as that from vocalized *w*, as above. Hence the plurals *bealu*, *cnēo*, from **bealwu*, **cnewu*.

ō-DECLENSION

§ 89. This declension contains feminine nouns only and corresponds to the Greek and Latin *ā*-declension. Like the *a*-declension it is subdivided into pure *ō*-stems, *jō*-stems, and *wō*-stems,

PURE *ō*-STEMS

§ 90 Here belong all nouns formed from adjectives with the suffixes *-þu*, later *-þo*, and *-u* (§ 91), or from verbs with the suffixes *-ung*, *-ing*, and nearly all feminine nouns with unmutated vowels, except those in *-e* which belong to the *n*-declension.

Sing.

Nom.	giefu, gift	lār, doctrine	firen, crime	frōfor, comj
Acc.	giefe	lāre	firene	frōfre
Gen.	giefe	lāre	firene	frōfre
Dat.	giefe	lāre	firene	frōfre

Plur.

Nom. Acc.	giefu(e)	lāra(e)	firena(e)	frōfra
Gen.	giefu(ena)	lāra(ena)	firena	frōfra
Dat	giefum	lārum	firenum	frōfrum

Examples of nouns declined like *giefu* are. *caru*, *care*, *faru*, *journey*, *lufu*, *love*, *sacu*, *strife*; *talū*, *tale*, *wicu*, *week*.

Examples of those like *lār* are *ār*, *honour*, *eln*, *ell*; *feorm*, *provision*, *glōf*, *glove*, *healf*, *half*, *heord*, *flock*; *lāf*, *remnant*, *rōd*, *cross*, *scīr*, *shire*, *þēod*, *nation*, *weard*, *protection*.

Examples like *firen* are *feter*, *fetter*, *feðer*, *feather*; *stefn*, *voice*; and like *frōfor* are *ceaster*, *city*, *fultum*, *help*, *sāwol*, *soul*.

Note 1.—As in the plur. of neuter nouns (§§ 85, 86), *u* fell after a long monosyllable, or after two syllables of which the first is short, but remained after a short monosyllable. *Frōfor* for **frōfru* is a new formation due to the influence of *firen*, or of long monosyllabic nouns, such as *lār* (§ 43, A, Note 1).

Note 2.—The gen. and dat. sing. of *faru* should be *fære* (§ 27). The *a* of the nom. sing. is however in this and other nouns of this declension usually carried through all the forms.

Note 3.—The Anglian dialects have *e* for the ending of the nom. and acc. plural.

Note 4.—The gen. plur. ending *-ena*, found in monosyllabic nouns, is borrowed from the *n*-declension.

Note 5.—Nouns in *-ung*, such as *liornung*, *learning*, *scēawung*, *observation*, frequently have the ending *a* in gen., dat., and acc. sing. as well as in the plural.

NOUNS FORMED FROM ADJECTIVES

§ 91. These were formed by means of two suffixes, *-īðu*, later *-ōðu* (Goth. *-ida*, *-īpa*), and *-ī* (Goth. *ei*). Those in *-īðu* belonged to

the *ō*-, those in *-ī* to the *n*- declension. Of Goth *diupiþa*, *depth*, and *managai*, *multitude*. In O E *ī* became *i* and then *e*, but after the earlier period *e* was replaced by *u* and the nouns thus formed went over to the *ō*- declension.

Sing.

Nom	strengðu, -o, <i>strength</i>	menizu, -o, -eo, <i>multitude</i>
Acc	strengðe, -u, -o	menize, -u, -o
Gen	strengðe, -u, -o	menize, -u, -o
Dat.	strengðe, -u, -o	menize, -u, -o

Plur.

Nom Acc	strengða(e)
Gen	strengða
Dat.	strengðum

In later texts the *u*, later *o*, of the nom sing. was carried into acc., gen., and dat. sing.

e is sometimes found between *ʒ* and a following *u* or *o*, to indicate that the *ʒ* was a front consonant, as in a nom. sing. *menizeo*.

§ 92.

ǰō- STEMS

Sing.

Nom.	sibb, <i>relationship</i>	wylf, <i>female wolf</i>	wierʒen, <i>fem of wearʒ</i>
Acc	sibbe	wylfe	wierʒenne <i>oulla</i>
Gen.	sibbe	wylfe	wierʒenne
Dat.	sibbe	wylfe	wierʒenne

Plur.

Nom }	sibba(e)	wylfa(e)	wierʒenna
Acc }			
Gen	sibba	wylfa	wierʒenna
Dat	sibbum	wylfum	wierʒennum

Like *sibb* are declined *brycg*, *bridge*; *ecg*, *sword*; *hell*, *hell*; *secg*, *sword*; *synn*, *sin*, *wynn*, *joy*, and all fem nouns ending in a doubled consonant and mutated vowel (§§ 33, 34, 64).

Examples of nouns declined like *wylf* are: *bend*, *band*; *hild*, *battle*; *ieʒ*, *island*; *mits*, *mercy*; *spræc*, *speech*; *ȳþ*, *wave*.

Like *wierʒen* go *fyxen*, *wizen*, *gyden*, *goddess*, *ræden*, *plan*, *hæʒtess*, *witch*, *stiness*, *quiet*; *þriness*, *Trinity*, and all fem. nouns in *-en(n)* and *-nes(s)*.

§ 93.

wō-STEMS

Sing.

Nom.	beadu, <i>battle</i>	mæd, <i>meadow</i>	stōw, <i>place</i>
Acc.	beadwe	mædwe	stōwe
Gen.	beadwe	mædwe	stōwe
Dat.	beadwe	mædwe	stōwe

Plur.

Nom Acc.	beadwa(e)	mædwa(e)	stōwa(e)
Gen.	beadwa	mædwa	stōwa
Dat.	beadwum	mædwum	stōwum

Like *beadu* are declined: *sceadu*, *shadow*, and *frætwa(e)*, *ornaments*, *geatwa(e)*, *armour*, of which only plural forms are extant

Like *mæd* is declined *læs*, *pasture*, like *stōw* goes *trēow*, *faith*.

Note 1.—In *beadu* and *mæd*, *w* has fallen before the *u* of the ending (§ 75, 2, a), which has remained after a short syllable in *beadu*, but fallen after a long syllable in *mæd* (§ 43, A, 4). In *stōw* the *w* has been reintroduced from the inflected forms, as in masculine and neuter *wa*-stems (§ 88, Note)

Note 2.—Here belong *clēa*, *claw*, and *ēa*, *water*, *river*. In *clēa*, from **clawu*, the *w* has fallen before the *u* and Pre-O E *a* + *u* has given *ēa* (§ 24). *Clēa* is therefore the true nom. sing., but a form *clawu* is also found, made from the inflected forms, which are sing. *clawe*, plur. nom. acc. gen. *clawa*, dat. *clawum*. The inflection of *ēa* is very irregular. Gen. sing. forms which occur are *ēa* unchanged, *ē* for *ee*, *ēas* on the model of the maso. gen. *sæs*, *sea*, and sometimes *īe* with *i* mutation. Dat. sing. forms are *ēa*, *ē*, *īe*, and *ēan* from the *n*-declension. The nom. and acc. plur. are *ēa* and *ēan*, the gen. plur. *ēa*, and the dat. plur. *ēam* and *ēaum*.

i-DECLENSION

§ 94. This declension contains masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns and corresponds to the Greek and Latin *i*-stems

MASCULINE

§ 95. Here belong all nouns in *-scipe*; many names of nations; a large number of abstract nouns formed from the roots of verbs with the suffix *-i*, later *-e*, and a few with a dental suffix, originally feminine.

All masculine nouns with mutation of the root vowel (§§ 33,

34), and ending in *e* after a short syllable, or with no ending after a long syllable (§ 43, A, 2), must be of this declension.

Sing

Nom. Acc.	wine, friend	cwide, saying	drync, drinking
Gen.	wines	cwides	drynces
Dat.	wine	cwide	drynce

Plur.

Nom.	wine, -as	cwide, -as	drynce, -as	Dene, Danes
Gen.	wina, winizca	cwida	drynca	Dena, Denizca
Dat.	winum	cwidum	dryncum	Denum

Like *cwide* are declined: *cyre*, choice, *hryre*, fall; *lyre*, loss; *sleze*, blow, and all nouns formed in the same way from verbs; also *dene*, valley, *dyne*, din, *gryre*, terror, *heze*, hedge; *mere*, lake; *ryze*, rye, *pyle*, orator, and a few others not originally belonging to this declension, such as *hælc*, the true nom. of *hælep*, hero (§ 107), and *here*, barley, *eze*, fear; *hete*, hatred, *mene*, necklace; *sizc*, victory, which were originally nouns of the *os*-, *es*-declension.

Like *drync* are declined *blæd*, breath, *feng*, grasp; *hyht*, hope; *wæz*, wave, and other nouns similarly formed from verbs.

Further examples are *æsc*, ash, *ent*, giant, *flerst*, period of time, *ziest*, stranger, *mæw*, sea-gull, *pyrs*, giant; *wyrm*, worm.

Like *Dene* are declined *Seaxe*, Saxons, *Engle*, Angles, and other names of nations, and the five common nouns *ielde*, men; *leife*, elves, *lêode*, people, *stede*, places, and *wine*, friends.

Note 1 —In the sing. the inflection is the same as in the *a*-declension. The old ending of the nom. and acc. plur. is *e*, from **-iz*. Most nouns, however, except in very early texts, adopted the ending *-as* of the *a*-declension, *e* being kept only in the names of nations and the five common nouns declined like them. In late texts even these are found with plurals in *-as*. *Dene* and *wine* have gen. plurals *Denizca* and *winizca* beside the short forms *Dena* and *wina*.

Note 2 —*hyse*, youth, plur. *hyssas*; *mete*, meat, plur. *mettas*, show confusion between the *i*- and *ja*-declensions.

Note 3 —*ærist*, resurrection, *hlyst*, hearing, *lyft*, air, are still sometimes fem., *sæl*, time, is also both masc. and fem., it has a dat. plur. *sælum* or *sælum* (§ 28), *sæ*, sea, has a fem. gen. sing. *sæ* beside masc. *sæs* and a dat. sing. *sæwe* beside *sæ*.

FEMININE

§ 96. Here belong most abstract nouns formed from verbs by a dental suffix, with *i* mutation of the vowel from the original *i* of the ending (§§ 33, 34), and a few others

Sing			
Nom. Acc.	dǣd, <i>deed</i>	cwēn, <i>woman</i>	
Gen.	dǣde	cwēne	
Dat.	dǣde	cwēne	
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	dǣde	cwēne	
Gen.	dǣda	cwēna	
Dat.	dǣdum	cwēnum	

In this way are declined. *ǣht*, *property*, *cyst*, *choice*; *ēst*, *favour* (from the root of *ann*, *I grant*), *hǣs*, *command*, *spēd*, *success*, *wyrd*, *fate*, and other nouns similarly formed from verbs. Other examples are *bēn*, *prayer*, *benc*, *bench*; *cȳf*, *tub*, *hȳd*, *hide*, *tīd*, *tune*, *wǣd*, *garment*

Only long-syllabled feminine nouns occur, those with short syllables having gone over into the *ō*-declension

Feminine nouns of the *i*-declension differ from those of the *ō*-class in having no ending in the acc sing, and in the ending *e* for nominative and accusative plural. Later, *a* is borrowed from the *ō*-declension, as in a late plural *dǣda*.

Note 1—*ǣ*, *law*, has a dat sing. *ǣwe* beside *ǣ*.

Note 2.—*wiht*, *creature*, from the root of *weȝan*, *to move*, *gift*, *price of a wife*, from that of *giefan*, *to give*, occur also with neuter endings, with change of meaning to "*anything*" and "*wedding*," respectively.

Note 3.—Nouns which do not show *i* mutation, such as *meaht*, *might*, beside the mutated form *miht* (§ 36, a), and *sceaft*, *creation*, are formed from those cases in which *i* mutation did not work. For these cf. the Goth. gen sing *mahtāis*, *gaskaftāis*; the dat. sing. *mahtái*, *gaskaftái*, in which the stem vowel is followed by *ai* not *i*.

NEUTER

§ 97. Here belong nouns formed with the prefix *ȝe-*, and ending in a consonant, such as *ȝedrync*, *drinking*, *ȝeswinc*, *toil*, and a few others which originally belonged to other declensions.

Examples are *flāsc, flesh*, *hæl, health*, from the *os-, es-* declension, and *hilt, sword*, *orleze, fate*, *sife, sieve*, *sper, spear*, *sweng, blow*, etc. Their inflection is that of neuters of the *a-* declension except that all take *u* in the nominative and accusative plural.

Note.—*gecynd, nature*, *gehygd, mind*, *gemynd, memory*; *gesceaft, creation*; *zewyrht, merits*, and one or two others formed from feminine nouns, are both feminine and neuter.

u- DECLENSION

§ 98 This declension, which corresponds to the Greek and Latin *u-* declension, contained originally masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. Most have, however, in O.E. gone over into other declensions, nine masculines and three feminines only remaining regularly. Besides these, eleven masculines and two feminines are sometimes declined on this model, especially in keeping the ending *a* of the dative sing. The only trace of a neuter noun is *fela, much*, which has, however, become an adverb of quantity in O.E.

Sing.		Masculine		Feminine
	Nom. Acc.	sunu, <i>son</i>	duru, <i>door</i>	hand, <i>hand</i>
	Gen. Dat.	suna	dura	handa
Plur.				
	Nom. Acc.	suna	dura	handa
	Gen.	suna	dura	handa
	Dat.	sunum	durum	handum

The masculine nouns declined like *sunu* are *brezu, prince*; *heoru, sword*, *lazu, sea*, *mazu, son*, *me(o)du, mead*; *si(o)du, custom*, *sritu, spit*, and *wudu, wood*.

Note.—It will be observed that all have short stems.

Like *duru* is declined *nosu, nos*.

§ 99 Masculine nouns which are sometimes declined on this model are *æppel, apple*; *eard, native country*; *feld, field*, *ford*, *ford*, *gār, spear*, *hād, rank, nature*, *hearg, temple*, *sēaþ, pit*; *sumor, summer*; *weald, forest*, and *winter, winter*. Usually, however, these take the endings of the *a-* declension, except in the dat. sing. Feminine nouns which belonged originally to this declension are *cinn, chin*, *cweorn, handmill*, *flōr, floor*. All, however, appear also with the endings of the *ō-* declension.

CONSONANT DECLENSIONS

n- DECLENSION

§ 100. This declension, often called the weak declension, is very large and contains masculine, feminine, and neuter nouns. It corresponds to Greek and Latin stems in -n.

MASCULINE

§ 101. Here belong all nouns in -a and a few in -ā or diphthongs.

Sing

Nom.	guma , man	frēa , lord
Gen Dat Acc.	guman	frēan

Plur.

Nom Acc.	guman	frēan
Gen	gumena	frēana
Dat.	gumum	frēam, frēaum

Like **guma** are declined: **bana**, murderer, **bera**, bear; **boda**, messenger; **cuma**, stranger, **dogga**, dog, **eafora**, child, **fēða**, band of infantry; **flota**, sailor; **gefēra**, companion; **hana**, cock, **hunta**, huntsman; **mōna**, moon, **mūða**, mouth of river, **nama**, name, **oxa**, ox, **pleȝa**, game, **wela**, wealth, **wi(o)ta**, wise man, **wreca**, avenger, and many others, especially *nomina agentis* formed from verbs with the suffix -a.

Like **frēa** are declined: **gefā**, foe; **gefēa**, joy; **twēo**, doubt; **wēa**, woe, and one or two others.

Note.—**oxa** has a plur. **exen** beside **oxan**: and a dat. plur. **oxnum**.

To note also are dat. plur. **nefenum** and **scotenum**, from **nefa**, nephew, and **scota**, archer, in which the correct form is preserved.

FEMININE

§ 102. Here belong all feminine nouns in -e, including those with the feminine suffix -estre, and a few in -ā or diphthongs.

Sing.

Nom	hlāfdlȝe , lady	flā , arro
Acc. Gen. Dat.	hlāfdlȝan	flān

Plur.

Nom. Acc.	hlāfdlȝan	flān
Gen.	hlāfdlȝena	flāna
Dat.	hlāfdlȝum	flānum

Like hlæfdige are declined. *ælmesse, alms, burne, spring, brook, byrne, corslet, cirice, church, eorðe, earth, flōde, channel; folde, earth, hearpe, harp, heorte, heart, hrūse, earth, mīere, mare; mōdrige, maternal aunt, molde, earth, nēadre, adder; racente, chain, sunne, sun, wise, mannes, wice, wuce, week, wulle, wool, and many others*

Like flā are declined. *bēo, bee; slā, sloe; tā, toe, and one or two others.*

Note.—Nearly all nouns ending in *e* with an unmutated stem vowel belong here.

NEUTER

§ 103. Three nouns only belong here: *ēaȝe, eye; ēare, ear; and wange, cheek.*

Sing.

Plur.

Nom. Acc.	ēaȝe
Gen.	ēaȝan
Dat.	ēaȝan

Nom. Acc.	ēaȝan
Gen.	ēaȝena
Dat.	ēaȝum

A strong gen sing *wanges* and nom acc plur *wangas* also occur

Note.—It will be seen that neuter nouns differ from masculines and feminines in having the acc. sing like the nominative.

MINOR CONSONANT DECLENSIONS

§ 104. These differ from the declensions treated hitherto in that inflection is sometimes shown by mutation (§§ 33, 34) of the stem vowel instead of by an ending. Masculine nouns have mutation in nom and acc plur. and in dat sing, feminines in gen. sing as well as in the above cases, neuters in dat sing only

MONOSYLLABIC DECLENSION

§ 105. Here belong three masculine nouns: *mann, man, and its compound wifmann, woman; fōt, foot, and tōþ, tooth, a certain number of feminine nouns, and one neuter scrūd, shroud, garment.*

Sing.

Nom. Acc.	mann, man	burh, city	hnutu, nut	scrūd, garment
Gen.	mannes	byr(1)ȝ	hnute	scrūdes
Dat.	menn	byr(1)ȝ	hnyte	scrȳd

Plur.

Nom. Acc.	menn	byr(i)3	hnyte	scrūd
Gen.	manna	burza	hnuta	scrūda
Dat.	mannum	burzum	hnutum	scrūdum

Note.—Plurals *fōtas*, *tōðas* are sometimes found formed on the model of the *a*-declension.

§ 106 The following feminine nouns belong here:—

Declined like *burh* are *āc*, *oak*, *bōc*, *book*, *brōc*, *breeches*, *cū*, *cow*, *dung*, *prison*, *gāt*, *goat*, *gōs*, *goose*, *grūt*, *groats*, *lūs*, *louse*; *meol(u)c*, *milk*, *mūs*, *mouse*, *neaht*, *niht*, *night*, *turf*, *turf*; *furh*, *furrow*, *sulh*, *plough*, *prūh*, *though*, *wlōh*, *fringe*

Declined like *hnutu* are *hnitu*, *nit*, *stuðu*, *pillar*.

Many irregularities however occur *cū* has gen sing *cȳ*, *cūe*, *cūs*; nom acc plur. *cȳ*, *cȳe*; gen plur. *cūa*, *cūna*, *cȳna*. In *niht*, the mutated form with *i* is usually carried through the whole declension, *neaht* without mutation being rare (§ 36, a). A gen. sing. *nihtes*, formed on the model of *dæges*, *by day*, occurs when used adverbially and meaning *at night*, *by night*

Note 1.—Analogical gen singulars in *-e* with no mutation are frequently found, as in *burze*, formed on the model of *lāre* (§ 90).

Note 2.—Final *h* of the stem is lost with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel before a vocalic ending, as in gen. plur. *fūra* (§§ 39, c, 40, i, 73 (2)).

Note 3.—*ēa*, gen, dat sing *īe*, belongs in part to the *ō*-declension, in part to this (§ 98, Note 2).

þ-DECLENSION

§ 107. This declension consists of four nouns only: two masculine, *hæleþ*, *man*, and *mōnaþ*, *month*, one feminine, *mæzeþ*, *maiden*, and one neuter, *calu*, *ale*.

Sing

Nom }	<i>hæleþ</i> , <i>man</i> , <i>hero</i>	<i>mōnaþ</i> , <i>month</i>	<i>mæz(e)þ</i> , <i>maiden</i>	<i>calu</i> , <i>ale</i>
Acc }				
Gen	<i>hæleðes</i>	<i>mōn(e)ðes</i>	<i>mæz(e)ð(e)</i>	<i>(e)aloþ</i>
Dat	<i>hæleðe</i>	<i>mōn(e)ðe</i>	<i>mæz(e)ð(e)</i>	<i>(e)aloþ</i>

Plur

Nom }	<i>hæleþ</i> , <i>hæleðas</i>	<i>mōnaþ</i> , <i>mōn(e)ðas</i>	<i>mæz(e)þ</i>	
Acc }				
Gen.	<i>hæleða</i>	<i>mōn(e)ða</i>	<i>mæz(e)ða</i>	<i>caleða</i>
Dat	<i>hæleðum</i>	<i>mōn(e)ðum</i>	<i>mæz(e)ðum</i>	

Note 1.—This declension shows much irregularity. *ealu* preserves the original type, which may be reconstructed from the *n*-declension by substituting *þ* for *n*.

Note 2.—The true nom. sing. of *hæleþ* is *hæle*, which has gone over into the *i*-declension (§ 95), *hæleþ* is a new formation from the inflected forms. To *hæleþ* a new gen. sing. *hæleðes* and dat. sing. *hæleðe*, and in later texts a new plur. *hæleðas*, have been made on the model of the *a*-declension.

The same explanations apply to *mōnaþ*, the true nom. sing. of which is *mōna*, *moon*, which has gone over to the *n*-declension (§ 101), with a modification of meaning.

For the syncope of the medial vowel see § 44.

In *mæzeþ*, the *þ* has been regularly taken into the nom. sing. and the noun is frequently uninflected in the singular. Later, a gen. and dat. sing. in *-e* was made on the model of the *ō*-declension. Syncope of the middle vowel is frequent in this word, though the first syllable is short, and the synocopated form has made its way into the uninflected forms.

r-DECLENSION

§ 108 This declension contains five nouns only, names of relationship ending in *-er* and *-or*.

MASCULINE

Sing.			
Nom. Acc.	fæder, <i>father</i>	brōðor, <i>brother</i>	
Gen.	fæder, fæderes	brōðor	
Dat.	fæder	brēder	
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	fæderas	brōðor, brōðru	
Gen.	fædera	brōðra	
Dat.	fæderum	brōðrum	

FEMININE

Sing.			
Nom. Acc.	mōdor, <i>mother</i>	dohtor, <i>daughter</i>	sweostor, <i>sister</i>
Gen.	mōdor, mēder	dohtor, dehter	sweostor
Dat.	mēder	dehter	sweostor
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	mōdor, mōdru	dohtor, dohtru	sweostor
Gen.	mōdra	dohtra	sweostra
Dat.	mōdrum	dohtrum	sweostrum

Note 1.—*fæder* shows the influence of the *a*- declension in gen. sing. and nom. and acc. plural.

Note 2 —In the maso *brōðor*, mutation appears in the dat. sing. only, in the fem *mōdor* and *dohtor* it is also found sometimes in the gen. sing. But no nouns of this declension have it in the plural.

nd- DECLENSION

§ 109 Here belong all nouns in *-nd* which are old present participles of verbs. They fall into two classes, those which are declined altogether as nouns, and those which, from their participial origin, still retain two adjectival endings in the nom. plur. in *-e* and the gen. plur. in *-ra*.

Sing.

Nom. Acc.	<i>frēond</i> , friend	<i>wealdend</i> , ruler
Gen.	<i>frēondes</i>	<i>wealdendes</i>
Dat.	<i>frīend</i> , later <i>frēonde</i>	<i>wealdende</i>

Plur.

Nom. Acc.	<i>frīend</i> , <i>frēond</i> , <i>frēondas</i>	<i>wealdend</i> , <i>wealdende</i> , <i>wealdenda</i>
Gen.	<i>frēonda</i>	<i>wealdendra</i>
Dat.	<i>frēondum</i>	<i>wealdendum</i>

Like *frēond* are declined. *fēond*, *enemy*, *tēond*, *accuser*, and *gōddōnd*, *benefactor* (dat. sing. and nom. acc. and plur. *gōddēnd*); all others follow *wealdend*. Examples are: *būcnd*, *inhabitant*; *hælcnd*, *Saviour*, *neriend*, *Saviour*; *wīgend*, *warrior*, etc.

Note 1.—The verbs *frēo(za)n*, *to love*, *feo(za)n*, *to hate*, were little used, no compound verb *gōddōn* existed, hence the participial origin in the case of *frēond*, *fēond* and *gōddōnd* was no longer felt, and these nouns assumed entirely nominal endings. *tēond* owes its nominal forms to association in form and meaning with *fēond*, the verb *iȝon*, *to accuse*, being not uncommon.

Note 2.—The *e* in the ending *-end* being already the result of *i* mutation, no further modification is possible in the dat. sing. or nom. plur. of nouns of the second class.

os-, es- DECLENSION

§ 110. Six neuters only remain in this declension, which corresponds to Greek neuters in *-os*, Latin in *-us*.

Sing.		Plur.	
Nom. Acc.	lamb, lamb	Nom. Acc.	lambru
Gen.	lambes	Gen.	lambra
Dat.	lambe	Dat.	iambrum

The other nouns are: **æg**, *egg*; **cealf**, *calf*; **clid**, *child*; **speld**, *torch*; and **brêadru**, *crumbs*, of which last only the plur. forms occur.

Note 1.—**clid** is sometimes declined like **land** (§ 85)

Note 2.—Originally many more nouns belonged here. Traces are to be seen in all noun couples such as **siȝe**, **siȝor**, both of which mean *victory*; **siȝe** being from the nom. or acc. sing., **siȝor** from other forms in which -r remained.

Other instances are North. **dōȝ** and **dōȝor**, *day*; **hriȝ** and **hriȝer**, *cattle*, **sæl**, **sele**, and **salor**, *hall*, **wild** and **wilder**, *wild animal*, or **hæl**, *good omen*, and **halor**, *salvation*, in which different meanings have been developed.

Traces also remain in noun couples in which one has the mutated form of the vowel (§ 34), going back to the *-es form of the suffix Germ. *-iz (§ 43, A, 2), the other, the unmutated, going back to the *-os form, Germ. *-az (§ 43, A, 3).

Instances are: **gæst** and **gāst**, *spirit*; **hlāw**, **hlāw**, *mound*, **hrāw**, **hrāw**, *corpse*; **lemb**, **lamb**, *lamb*; **sæl**, **sele**, *hall*.

CHAPTER VIII

ADJECTIVES

§ 111. Two declensions of adjectives are found in O E, the strong, corresponding to the vocalic, and the weak, corresponding to the *n*-declension of nouns. The weak declension is used —

(a) After the definite article *sē, sēo, þæt*, etc., and the demonstrative pronoun *þēs, þeos, þis*, etc

(b) Frequently after the possessive adjectives, *min, his*, etc.

(c) Usually in address

(d) Sometimes in poetry without any of the preceding conditions, especially when the quality indicated is of the nature of the epic attribute.

With the exception of certain adjectives which are always declined weak, the strong forms are used in all other positions, whether attributive or predicative; and *call, all; fēawe, few; maniȝ, many; zenōȝ, enough, oðer, other*, are always declined strong.

§ 112 In the parent Indg. language the declension of noun and adjective was the same, and in Gothic, i.e. in early Germanic, three classes of strong adjectives may still be distinguished, corresponding to the four vocalic declensions of nouns. These are the *a/ō*-declension, in which masculines and neuters follow the *a* and feminines the *ō* model, the *i*- and the *u*-declensions, each of which contains all three genders. But in O.E. traces only of the *i*- and *u*-declensions remain, most of the adjectives which originally belonged to them having gone over into the *a/ō*-class, and in O E., as in all Germanic languages, pronominal endings have replaced the original nominal endings for certain cases. Such pronominal endings are indicated below by italics.

§ 113 Like nouns, O E. adjectives have two numbers, singular and plural, three genders, masculine, feminine, and neuter, and four cases fully represented, nominative, accusative, genitive, and

dative. Masculines and neuters have in addition a strong instrumental singular. Characteristic endings are **-ne** for accusative singular masculine, **-re** for genitive and dative singular feminine; and **-ra** for genitive plural of all genders. Adjectives which qualify nouns of different genders take neuter endings.

STRONG DECLENSION

a/ō- DECLENSION

§ 114. Like the first and second noun declensions, the a/ō- adjective declension is subdivided into pure stems, ja/jō- stems and wa/wō- stems.

PURE a/ō- STEMS

§ 115.

(a) MONOSYLLABIC

		<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing				
	Nom	<i>gōd, good</i>	<i>gōd</i>	<i>gōd</i>
	Acc	<i>gōdne</i>	<i>gōdre</i>	<i>gōd</i>
	Gen.	<i>gōdes</i>	<i>gōdre</i>	<i>gōdes</i>
	Dat.	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdre</i>	<i>gōdum</i>
	Inst.	<i>gōde</i>		
Plur				
	Nom Acc.	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōda(e)</i>	<i>gōd(e)</i>
	Gen	<i>gōdra</i>	<i>gōdra</i>	<i>gōdra</i>
	Dat	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>
		<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.				
	Nom	<i>hwæt, bold</i>	<i>hwatu</i>	<i>hwæt</i>
	Acc.	<i>hwætne</i>	<i>hwate</i>	<i>hwæt</i>
	Gen.	<i>hwates</i>	<i>hwætre</i>	<i>hwates</i>
	Dat	<i>hwatum</i>	<i>hwætre</i>	<i>hwatum</i>
	Inst.	<i>hwate</i>		<i>hwate</i>
Plur				
	Nom Acc.	<i>hwate</i>	<i>hwata(e)</i>	<i>hwatu, o(e)</i>
	Gen.	<i>hwætra</i>	<i>hwætra</i>	<i>hwætra</i>
	Dat	<i>hwatum</i>	<i>hwatum</i>	<i>hwatum</i>

Sing

Nom.	<i>hēah, high</i>	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēah</i>
Acc.	<i>hēahne, hēa(n)ne</i>	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēah</i>
Gen.	<i>hēas</i>	<i>hēahre, hēa(r)re</i>	<i>hēas</i>
Dat.	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēahre, hēa(r)re</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i>
Inst.	<i>hēa</i>		

Plur

Nom. Acc.	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēa</i>
Gen.	<i>hēahra, hēa(r)ra</i>	<i>hēahra, hēa(r)ra</i>	<i>hēahra, hēa(r)ra</i>
Dat.	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i>

Like *gōd* are declined long monosyllables, such as *blind, blind*; *brād, broad, cūþ, known, dēad, dead, dēop, deep; eald, old; eall, all, earm, poor, fersc, fresh, healf, half, zesund, sound, healthy, zeong, young; lang, long, lāþ, hostile; lēof, dear; lēoht, light, sōþ, true, swift, swift, swiþ, strong, wealt, unsteady, wis, wise, and compound adjectives in -cund, -feald, -isc, -lēas, -lic, and -weard, as godcund, divine, maniȝfeald, manifold, cirliſc, of low rank, fierdlēas, undefended; zesællȝlic, blessed, easteward, eastward, and many others.*

Like *hwæt* are declined short monosyllables, such as *dol, foolish, blæc, black, glæd, glad; gram, angry, sæd, sated; smæl, small; til, good, trum, strong, and a few others*

Like *hēah* are declined: *fāh, hostile, nēah, nigh; þweorh, perverse, and one or two others ending in -h.*

Note 1.—The interchange of *a* and *æ* does not follow the regular law (§ 27) in the inflection of adjectives. *Æ* with feminine nouns of the *ō*-declension (§ 90, Note 2) *a* remains as a rule in open syllables, irrespective of the following vowel, *æ* appearing in the adjective in closed syllables.

Note 2—*u* is lost regularly after a long, but remains after a short syllable (§ 43, A, 4).

Note 3.—For the loss of *h* when between or before vowels and the subsequent contraction see §§ 39, c, 40 (1); 73 (2).

Note 4.—The plurals *zenōȝe, enough, unȝefōȝe, immense*, have singulars *zenōh, unȝefōh* (§ 72, 6). In late O.E. forms *hēaȝes, hēaȝum* occur, formed on the analogy of *zenōȝes, unȝefōȝes*, etc., in which *ȝ* was regular.

Note 5.—Double consonants are simplified before a consonant of the case ending, as in *ealne, acc. sing. masc. of eall* (§ 77, b).

Note 6.—In later texts the *e* of the masculine nom. and acc. plur. is frequently found in the feminine and neuter.

§ 116.

(b) DISSYLLABIC

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	lýt(e)l, <i>little</i>	lýt(e)lu, o	lýt(e)l
Acc.	lýt(e)lne	lýt(e)le	lýt(e)l
Gen.	lýt(e)les	lýt(e)le	lýt(e)les
Dat.	lýt(e)lum	lýt(e)le	lýt(e)lum
Inst.	lýt(e)le		
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	lýt(e)le	lýt(e)la(e)	lýt(e)lu(e)
Gen.	lýt(e)le	lýt(e)le	lýt(e)le
Dat.	lýt(e)lum	lýt(e)lum	lýt(e)lum
Sing.			
Nom.	manig, <i>many</i>	manig	manig
Acc.	manigne	manige	manig
Gen.	maniges	manigre	maniges
Dat.	manigum	manigre	manigum
Inst.	manige		
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	manige	maniga(e)	manig(e)
Gen.	manigra	manigra	manigra
Dat.	manigum	manigum	manigum

Like *lýt(e)l* are declined all dissyllabic adjectives with long first syllables, such as *ættren*, *poisonous*; *gylden*, *golden*, and other adjectives in *-en*; *cræftig*, *skillful*, *mighty*, *särlig*, *sorry*; *zesælig*, *blessed*, *spædig*, *wealthy*, *successful*, and other adjectives in *-ig*; *dæazol*, *secret*; *bitter*, *bitter*; *zëomor*, *sad*, *hådor*, *bright*; *hluttor*, *loud*; *snottor*, *wise*, and other adjectives in *-er* or *-or*, and past participles used as adjectives, such as *ågen*, *own*; *ðacen*, *great*; *zëpungen*, *noble*; *brozden*, *woven*, *wunden*, *twisted*, etc.

Like *manig* are declined dissyllabic adjectives with short first syllables, such as *beren*, *belonging to a bear*; *fægen*, *glad*; *open*, *open*; *yteren*, *belonging to an otter*, *bysig*, *busy*; *cearl*, *troubled*; *micel*, *great*, *yfel*, *evil*, and past participles, such as *boren*, *born*; *coren*, *chosen*; *slægen*, *slain*, etc.

Note.—The rules for the syncope of medial vowels and for the loss of those final are the same as for dissyllabic nouns (§§ 84, Note 1, 86, Note 1), except that before *i* syncope often takes place after short syllables. This is especially the case with *miceī*, which is usually declined gen. sing. *micies*, dat. sing. *miciūm*, etc.

§ 117.

ja/jō- STEMS

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	grēne, <i>green</i>	grēnu, o	grēne
Acc.	grēnne	grēne	grēne
Gen.	grēnes	grēnre	grēnes
Dat.	grēnum	grēnre	grēnum
Inst.	grēne		grēne
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	grēne	grēna (e)	grēnu, o (e)
Gen.	grēnra	grēnra	grēnra
Dat.	grēnum	grēnum	grēnum

Like *grēne* are declined: *āmbyrne*, *favourable*; *ānliepe*, *æðele*, *noble*; *diere*, *dēore*, *precious*; *dierne*, *secret*; *drȳȝe*, *dry*, *fāȝe*, *doomed*; *flēde*, *in flood*; *filde*, *level*; *ȝemāene*, *common*; *ȝesiene*, *visible*; *māere*, *famous*; *nīwe*, *new*; *rīce*, *powerful*; *sēfte*, *soft*; *sciene*, *beautiful*; *swēte*, *sweet*; *þrīwintre*, *three winters old*; *wēste*, *desolate*, *uninhabited*; *wilde*, *wild*, and others.

Note 1—Here belongs *frēo* (older **frija*), *free*, with forms *friȝ-* and *frio*, *frēo* occurring side by side. Thus in the nom. sing. *friȝ* occurs beside *frio*, *frēo*, *frēoh*; in the acc. sing. masc. *friȝne* beside *frēone*; in the acc. sing. fem. *friȝe* beside *frēo*; the masc. gen. sing. is *friȝes*, beside a dat. *frioum*; the fem. dat. sing. is *frēore*; both *friȝe* and *frēo* are found in nom. and acc. plur., but the gen. plur. is *frēora*, dat. plur. *frioum*, *frēoum* (§§ 40, 2; 74, 2, b, and Note). An occasional nom. sing. *frēoh* has its *h* on the analogy of adjectives like *hēah*, plur. *hēa*.

Note 2—Originally short-syllabled *ja/jō-* stems, such as *midd* (Goth. *midjis*), *middle*, in which the consonant has been doubled (§ 64), are declined like long-syllabled pure *a/jō-* stems.

§ 118.

wa/wō- STEMS

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i> *	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	gearu, <i>ready</i>	gearu	gearu
Acc.	gearone	gearwe	gearu
Gen.	gearwes	gearore	gearwes
Dat.	gear(w)um	gearore	gear(w)um
Inst.	gearwe		
Plur			
Nom Acc	gearwe	gearwa	gearu
Gen	gearora	gearora	gearora
Dat	gear(w)um	gear(w)um	gear(w)um

Like gearu are declined: fealu, *fallow*, zeolu, *yellow*, nearu, *narrow*, and a few others

Note 1.—For the vocalization of w to u when final, and its disappearance before u, see § 75, 2, a and 3. In the dat. sing. maso. and neut. and the dat. plur. w is usually reintroduced from the forms in which it had remained regularly.

Between consonants w was vocalized to o (§ 75, 2, c). After a long vowel w was reintroduced finally, as in glēaw, *wise*; slāw, *slow*; and the declension is that of pure stems with long monosyllables, such as gōd.

Note 2 —fēa, *few*, has nom. acc. plur. masc. fēawe; fem. fēawa; neut. fēa, from *fawu; gen. plur. fēawera or fēara; dat. plur. fēam, fēaum, fēawum.

§ 119. The only traces of this declension left in O.E. are a few adjectives, such as bryce, *useful*, zemyne, *mindful*; swice, *decentful*, in which the i of the earlier ending has mutated the stem vowels (§§ 33, 34) and remained after the short syllable, becoming e later (§ 43, A, 2).

All adjectives with long stems have borrowed the ending e and gone over into the ja-/jō- declension.

u- DECLENSION

§ 120. The only traces left in O.E. of this declension are cwicu, c(w)ucu, *alive*, and wlacu, *tired*. All others have gone over into either the pure stems or the ja-/jō- stems. Goth. hardus is O.E. heard, *hard*, declined like gōd; but Goth. hnasqus is O.E. hnesce, *tender*, declined like grēne.

WEAK DECLENSION

§ 121. The weak declension of the adjective agrees entirely with that of the noun, except that the genitive plural is of rare occurrence, being usually replaced by the strong forms in *-ra*.

Classes of adjectives which always follow the weak declension are comparatives, superlatives in *-ma* (§ 127), all ordinals except *ōðer*, *other* (§§ 128, 130), and *ilca*, *same*. Superlatives in *-est*, *-ost* are usually declined weak except in the nom. and acc. sing. of the neuter.

§ 122.	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	<i>gōða, good</i>	<i>gōde</i>	<i>gōde</i>
Acc.	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōde</i>
Gen.	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>
Dat.	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>	<i>gōdan</i>
Gen.	<i>gōdena (-ra)</i>	<i>gōdena (-ra)</i>	<i>gōdena (-ra)</i>
Dat.	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>	<i>gōdum</i>
	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	<i>hēa, high</i>	<i>hēa</i>	<i>hēa</i>
Acc.	<i>hēan</i>	<i>hēan</i>	<i>hēa</i>
Gen.	<i>hēan</i>	<i>hēan</i>	<i>hēan</i>
Dat.	<i>hēan</i>	<i>hēan</i>	<i>hēan</i>
Plur.			
Nom. Acc.	<i>hēan</i>	<i>hēan</i>	<i>hēan</i>
Gen.	<i>hēana</i>	<i>hēana</i>	<i>hēana</i>
Dat.	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i>	<i>hēa(u)m</i>

DECLENSION^t OF PARTICIPLES

§ 123 Present and past participles are declined as adjectives in O E when used attributively and follow the strong or weak declension on the same principles. The present participle fell in with *ja/jō-* stems (§ 117), the past participle with pure *a/ō-* stems (§ 116). Thus *singende*, *singing*, had a nom. sing. masc. and neut. *singende*, fem. *singendu*. For examples of past participles see § 116.

When used predicatively usage varies, sometimes the inflected,

sometimes the uninflected form being found, as *hie hine ofslæ-
genne hæfdon, they had slain him*; *menn wurden gehælede, men
were healed*, but *hi beoþ unforbærned, they are unburnt*.

COMPARISON OF ADJECTIVES

§ 124. O E adjectives formed their comparative degree by the addition of the suffix *-ra, -re*, which might represent an older *-lra, -lre* or *-ōra, -ōre*, and their superlatives by that of *-est* (older *-ist*) or *-ōst* (later *-ust, -ost, -ast*) *ja-* stems and a few pure *a-* stems took the suffixes *-(l)ra* and *-lst*, as shown by the mutation of the stem vowel, all others formed their comparative and superlative with *-(ō)ra* and *-ōst*.

Adjectives in the comparative degree always, and in the superlative generally, follow the weak declension, strong forms of the superlative being sometimes found in the neuter in the nominative and accusative singular

Examples are —

<i>earm, poor</i>	Comp	<i>earmra</i>	Sup.	<i>earmost</i>
<i>swift, swift</i>		<i>swiftra</i>		<i>swiftest</i>
<i>manigfeald, manifold</i>		<i>manigfealdra</i>		<i>manigfealdost</i>
<i>grēne, green</i>		<i>grēnra</i>		<i>grēnest</i>
<i>ieðc, easy</i>		<i>ieðra</i>		<i>ieðest</i>

§ 125 The following *a-* stems show mutation in the comparative and superlative:—

<i>brād, broad</i>	<i>brādra</i>	<i>brādest</i>
<i>eald, old</i>	<i>leldra</i>	<i>leldest</i>
<i>feorr, far</i>	<i>fierra</i>	<i>flerrest</i>
<i>geong, young</i>	<i>zyngra</i>	<i>zyngest</i>
<i>grēft, great</i>	<i>grietga</i>	<i>grietest</i>
<i>hēah, high</i>	<i>hiehra, hierra</i>	<i>hiehst</i>
<i>lang, long</i>	<i>lengra</i>	<i>lengest</i>
<i>sceort, short</i>	<i>scyrtra</i>	<i>scyrtest</i>
<i>strang, strong</i>	<i>strengra</i>	<i>strengest</i>

nēah, nigh, has mutation in the superlative *niehst*, but not in the comparative *nēarra*; *brād* and *hēah* have also unmutated forms *brādra, brādost, hēarra*,

Note 1.—For forms such as *earmesta* with *e* for *o* in inflected forms of the superlative see § 44, Note 1.

Note 2.—Syncope appears irregularly in inflected forms of the superlative although the medial vowel is followed by two consonants (§ 44), as *hiehsta*, *zyngsta*.

Note 3.—In later texts the *-est* of *ja-* stems is sometimes replaced by *-ost*, *-ast*, *-ust*.

IRREGULAR COMPARISON

§ 126 A few adjectives form their comparative and superlative from other stems than those of the positive. These are —

gōd , <i>good</i>	betra	betest , betsta
	sēlra	sēlest
lȳtel , <i>little</i>	lāessa for lāesra	lāest
micel , <i>great</i>	māra	māest
yfel , <i>evil</i>	wiersa	wierrest , wiersta

The comparatives *ǣrra*, *former*, *fyrra*, *farther*, *furðra*, *higher*, and their superlatives *ǣrest* and *fyrest*, have been formed from the adverbs *ǣr*, *formerly*, *fore*, *before*, and *forþ*, *forth*.

§ 127 O.E. retains three examples of an earlier superlative suffix *-ma*, used with adverbs and prepositions and corresponding to that seen in Lat. *primus*, *first*; *summus*, *highest*. These are *forma*, *first*, *medema*, *middle*, and *hindema*, *last*. But more commonly in O.E. the suffix *-est* has been added, giving a double ending *-mest*, which is used chiefly to form superlative adjectives from adverbs of place and direction.

Examples are —

æfter , <i>after</i>	æfterra	æftemest
fore , <i>before</i>		fyrrest , formest
inne , <i>within</i>	innerra	innemest
midd , <i>mid</i>		midemest
niðan , <i>beneath</i>	niðerra	niðemest
ufan , <i>above</i>	uferra	ufemest , yfemest
ūt , <i>out</i>	ūterra , ȳterra	ūtemest , ytemest
	ūttra , ȳttra	

Here belong also—

læt , <i>late</i> , <i>slow</i>	lætra	lættemest beside lætest
sīþ , <i>late</i>	sīðra	sīðtemest beside sīðest

NUMERALS

§ 128 The O.E. numerals are:—

<i>Cardinals</i>	<i>Ordinals</i>
ān, <i>one</i>	forma, formesta, fyresta, fyr-
twēzen, twā, tū, <i>two</i>	ōðer, æfterra [mesta, æresta
þrie, þrio, þreo, <i>three</i>	þrida
fēower, <i>four</i>	fēowerða, fēorða
fif, <i>five</i>	fifta
siex, slx, <i>six</i>	slexta, slxta
seofon, <i>seven</i>	seofða
eahta, <i>eight</i>	eahtoða
niȝon, <i>nine</i>	niȝoða
tien, tȳn, tēn, <i>ten</i>	tēoða
en(d) leofan, -lefan, <i>eleven</i>	en(d)leofta, en(d)lefta, elieofta,
twelf, <i>twelve</i>	twelfta [ellefta
þreohtene, -tȳne, -tēne, <i>thirteen</i>	þreo:eoða
fēowertiene, etc, <i>fourteen</i>	fēowertēoða
fiftiene, etc, <i>fifteen</i>	fiftēoða
si(e)xtiene, etc, <i>sixteen</i>	si(e)xtēoða
seofontiene, etc, <i>seventeen</i>	seofontēoða
eahtatiene, etc, <i>eighteen</i>	eahtatēoða
niȝontiene, etc, <i>nineteen</i>	niȝontēoða
twentiz, <i>twenty</i>	twēntizōða
ān and twēntiz, <i>twenty-one</i> , etc	
þritiz, <i>thirty</i>	þritizōða
fēowertiz, <i>forty</i>	fēowertizōða
fiftiz, <i>fifty</i>	fiftizōða
si(e)xtiz, <i>sixty</i>	si(e)xtizōða
hundseofontiz, <i>seventy</i>	hundseofontizōða
hundehtatiz, <i>eighty</i>	hundehtatizōða
hundniȝontiz, <i>ninety</i>	hundniȝontizōða
hundertēontiz, hund, hundred, <i>hundred</i>	hundertēontizōða
hundendleofantiz, <i>a hundred and ten</i>	hundendleoftizōða
hundertwelftiz, <i>a hundred and twenty</i> , etc.	
tū hund, tū hundred, <i>two hundred</i> , etc	
þūsend, <i>thousand</i>	

§ 129 (1) *ān*, which may follow the strong or the weak declension of the adjective, has strong acc. masculine forms *āne* and *æne*, and inst. *āne* and *æne*. In the sense of *alone* it is usually declined weak.

(2) *twēgen* is declined as follows:—

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Nom. Acc.	<i>twēgen</i>	<i>twā</i>	<i>tū, twā</i>
Gen. Plur.		<i>twēgea, twēgra</i>	
Dat. Plur.		<i>twām, twām</i>	

Note.—Like *twēgen* is declined *bēgen*, both, fem. *bā*; neut. *bū*; gen plur. *bēgea, bēgra*; dat plur. *bām, bām*.

When the two are combined, *bā twā* is used for masc and fem., and when applied to nouns of different genders. The neuter is *bū tū*. The monosyllabic forms only are found thus combined.

(3) *þrie* is declined

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Nom. Acc.	<i>þrie, þrī</i>	<i>þrīo, þrēo</i>	<i>þrio, þrēo</i>
Gen. Plur.		<i>þrīora</i>	<i>þrēora</i>
Dat. Plur.		<i>þrim</i>	

(4) The cardinal numerals from 4 to 19 are not as a rule inflected except when they are used after or without a noun. In those positions they sometimes take the endings of nouns of the *i*-declension, e.g. in the nom. and acc. plur. *e* for masc. and fem. and *u* for the neut., *a* in the gen. and *um* in the dat., as *fif byriȝ*, *five cities*, but *byriȝ fife*; *hie wæron fife*, *they were five*.

Note—To note are phrases such as *syxa sum*, *one of six*, *with five companions*.

(5) The ending *-tiȝ* of the numerals from 20 to 120 was originally a noun, as may be seen from Gothic. A trace of this origin remains in occasional gen. sing. forms in *-es*, and a very rare gen. plur. in *-a*, as in *fiftiȝes eina lang*, *fifty ells long*; *þritiȝes mila brād*, *thirty miles broad*. More usually numerals in *-tiȝ* are declined like adjectives, as *after fēowertiȝra daga ȝetele*, *after the number of forty days*, *mild twentiȝum þūsendum*, *with twenty thousands*.

Sometimes they remain uninflected, as *syxtiȝ eina lang*, *sixty ells long*

(6) *Hund* was originally a neuter noun. It is usually not declined in O E, but a dat. sing. *hunde* and a dat. plur. *hundum* occur, as in *after IV hunde wintrum*, *after four winters counted by the hundred*; *mid twāem hundum peningum*, *with two hundred pence*

(7) *þūsend* also was originally a neuter noun. It is sometimes not declined, but more generally it takes the endings of the ordinary neuter, with a nom. and acc. plur. *þūsend* or *þūsendu*, -o, -a, gen. plur. *þūsenda*, dat. plur. *þūsendum*. Numerals in -tiȝ, *hund*, *hundred*, and *þūsend*, being all originally nouns, may govern the accompanying noun in the gen., as *twentiȝ scēapa*, *twenty sheep*, *hund (þūsend) manna*, *a hundred (thousand) men*.

§ 130 All ordinal numbers except *ōðer* are inflected like weak adjectives. *ōðer* has only strong forms, *formest*, *fyrmost*, *fyrest* may follow either the strong or the weak declension (§ 124).

OTHER NUMERALS

§ 131 Multiplicative adverbs are *āne*, *once*; *twiwa*, *tuwa*, *twice*; *þriwa*, *thrice*. They may also be formed with numerals and *sīþ*, *time*, as *twāem sīðum*, *twice*, *on āenne sīþ*, *once*.

Multiplicative adjectives are formed by adding -feald to the numerals. These were then declined like ordinary adjectives, as *mid seofonfealdre ȝiefe*, *with a sevenfold gift*

Distributive numerals are *ānliepȝe*, *one each*; *be þrim* or *þrim* and *þrim*, *in threes*.

To note are the phrases formed with *sīþ*, *time*, such as *ōðrum sīðe*, *the next time*; *hindeman sīðe*, *the last time*; and those with *healf*, such as *ōðer healf*, *one and a half*, lit. *the second half*; *þriðða healf*, *two and a half*. In these constructions both words may be inflected, as in *ōðres healfes fōtes ȝemet*, *the measure of 1½ feet*; *ȝeworht of þriððan healfre hȝde*, *made of 2½ hides*, or *healf* may be uninflected, as *þriððan healf fōt*, *two feet and a half*.

CHAPTER IX

PRONOUNS AND ADVERBS

PERSONAL PRONOUNS

§ 132. The O E. personal pronouns have four cases, nominative, accusative, genitive, and dative. Those of the first and second persons have three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. That of the third person has distinct forms for the three genders in the singular.

§ 133.

FIRST PERSON

	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Dual</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Nom.	ic, I	wit	wě
Acc.	mec, mē	unc, uncit	ūsic, ūs
Gen.	mīn	uncer	ūser, ūro
Dat.	mē	unc	ūs

SECOND PERSON

Nom.	ŭū, thou	3it	3ě
Acc.	ŭec, ŭē	inc, incit	ēowic, ēow, iow
Gen.	ŭīn	incer	ēower, iower
Dat.	ŭē	inc	ēow, iow

Note 1.—me, ŭu, ŭe, we, 3e had originally short vowels. These were retained when the pronoun was unaccented in its sentence, but lengthened in O E when accented.

Note 2.—The ending of the acc is -c and corresponds to the g in Greek ἐμέγε. Thus mec, ŭec, ŭsic, ēowic are true accusatives. They are, however, only found in early texts, later they were replaced by the dative forms me, ŭe, ūs, ēow.

In the same way inc, unc are the true accusatives of the dual forms, the -it of uncit, incit is borrowed from the nominatives wit, 3it.

§ 134.

THIRD PERSON

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing			
Nom.	hē, he	hīo, hēo, hīe, she	hit, it
Acc.	hine, hiene	hīe, hīo, hēo	hit
Gen.	his	hire, hiere	his
Dat.	him	hire, hiere	him
Plur			
Nom. Acc. (all genders)		hīe, hī, hēo	
Gen		hīra, hīora, heora, hiera	
Dat		him	

The forms *hiene*, *hiere*, *hiora*, *heora*, etc., are due to o/a mutation (§ 35)

The fem nom sing *hīe* is borrowed from the acc., and the acc *hīo* or *hēo* from the nom. Later forms for *hīe* are *hī*, *hȳ*, *hīz*, and *hyre* and *hyra* for *hiere* and *hiera* (§ 36, c).

The O E pronoun of the third person is from the same Indg. root as the Lat *cis*, *citrā*, *on this side*.

REFLEXIVE PRONOUN

§ 135. The only trace preserved of the Germ. reflexive pronoun is the gen form *sīn*, used sometimes in poetry and very rarely in prose as a possessive adjective. In O E the personal pronoun was used with reflexive force, either alone or with the demonstrative *self* (§ 139) added for emphasis. Thus *he hine werede*, *he defended himself*, but *ic me selfum andwyrde*, *I answered myself*.

POSSESSIVE PRONOUN

§ 136. The uninflected forms of the possessive pronouns of the first and second persons are those of the genitive of the corresponding personal pronouns (§ 133). They are declined like strong adjectives: *mīn*, *ōin*, like *gōd*; *ūser*, *ēower*, *uncer*, *incer* like *lȳtel*, and *ūre* like *grēne* (§ 115 ff.).

Inflected forms which occur for *ūser* are: masc. sing. acc. *ūserne*, *ūsserne*; gen *ūsses*; dat. *ūssum*; fem sing. acc. gen. and dat *ūsse*; neut. sing gen *ūsses*, dat *ūsum*; plur. masc. nom. *ūsse*, fem *ūsra*, *ūssa*, *ūsse*; gen. of all genders *ūsra*, *ūssa*, *ūssera*, *ūserna*; dat. of all genders *ūssum*.

In forms with *sr*, such as fem *ūsre*, gen plur. *ūsra*, the *r* was usually assimilated to the preceding *s*, giving *ss*, which was then sometimes introduced into other cases, as in *ūsses*.

From *ūre* the forms are . masc acc sing *ūrne*, gen. *ūres*, dat *ūrum*; fem acc gen and dat sing *ūre*; neut gen. sing *ūres*, dat *ūrum*; nom and acc plur. of all genders *ūre*; gen *ūra*, *ūrra*; dat. *ūrum*. For the possessive pronoun of the third person the reflexive *sin* is sometimes found, especially in poetry (§ 135), and is declined like a strong adjective. More often the gen forms of the personal pronoun *his*, *hiere*, *hiera* (§ 134) are used, and these are never declined.

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

(a) THE SIMPLE DEMONSTRATIVE (DEFINITE ARTICLE)

§ 137. The O E. simple demonstrative is formed from two stems, one with *s* found in the nom. sing. of the masc and fem only; the other with *ð*. It is used chiefly as the definite article

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	<i>sē</i>	<i>sēo</i>	<i>ðæt</i>
Acc.	<i>ðone, ðanc, ðænc</i>	<i>ðā</i>	<i>ðæt</i>
Gen.	<i>ðæs</i>	<i>ðære</i>	<i>ðæs</i>
Dat.	<i>ðām, ðām</i>	<i>ðære</i>	<i>ðām, ðām</i>
Inst.	<i>ðy, ðē, ðon</i>		<i>ðy, ðē, ðon</i>
Plur.			
Nom. Acc. (all genders)		<i>ðā</i>	
Gen.		<i>ðāra, ðæra</i>	
Dat.		<i>ðām, ðām</i>	

Note.—*æ* belongs to the dat. plur. and has been borrowed thence into the gen. plur., gen. and dat. sing. fem., and dat. sing. masc. and neuter. *ā* belongs to the gen. plur. and has been borrowed into the dat. sing. masc. and neut. and dat. plur. of all genders.

The true gen. and dat. sing. fem. *ðere* is preserved only in dialects.

§ 138.

(b) COMPOUND DEMONSTRATIVE

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Feminine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.			
Nom.	Ūēs	Ūēos	Ūis
Acc.	Ūisne	Ūās	Ūis
Gen.	Ūisses	Ūisre, Ūisse	Ūisses
Dat.	Ūissum	Ūisre, Ūisse	Ūissum
Inst.	Ūys, Ūis		Ūys, Ūis
Plur			
Nom. Acc. (all genders)	Ūās		
Gen.	Ūisra, Ūissa		
Dat.	Ūissum		

Note 1.—*sr* of inflected forms has been assimilated to *ss* here as in the possessive pronouns (§ 136).

Note 2.—*sē*, *Ūēs* have accented forms with long, and unaccented with short vowels.

Note 3.—The compound demonstrative pronoun is formed from the simple demonstrative with the addition of the particle *-se*, *-si*.

(c) OTHER DEMONSTRATIVES

§ 139 These are: *se ilca*, *the same*, which follows the weak declension of adjectives, and *self*, *self, same*, declined weak or strong.

RELATIVE PRONOUN

§ 140 O E. possesses no relative pronoun. Its place is supplied in four ways:—

(a) By the indeclinable relative particle *Ūe*, as: *Ūone aldermonn Ūe him lengest wunode*, *the alderman who had remained longest with him* *Ūæs cyninges þeznas Ūe him beaftan wæron*, *the king's thanes who were behind him*.

(b) By the demonstrative pronoun, as: *anne æðeling sē wæs Cyneheard hāten*, *a prince who was called, etc.*; *his feoh Ūæt tō iāfe biþ*, *his property which is left*.

(c) By the demonstrative pronoun followed by the relative particle, as: *ūre ieldran Ūā Ūe Ūās stōwa hēoldon*, *our ancestors who possessed these places*; *sēo ilce burz, sēo Ūe mæst wæs*, *the very city, which was greatest*.

(d) By the relative particle followed by the personal pronoun. In this case the pronoun does not always follow immediately, as *æ3hwylcne ānra ðara ðe him biþ egesa to mē*, *each of those in whom is the fear of me*, *nīs nū cwicra nān ðe ic him mōdsefan minne durre āsecgan*, *there is now no living one to whom I may declare my mind*.

§ 141.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUN

	<i>Masculine</i>	<i>Neuter</i>
Sing.		
Nom.	hwā, <i>who</i>	hwæt, <i>what</i>
Acc.	hwone, hwane, hwæne	hwæt
Gen.	hwæs	hwæs
Dat.	hwæm	hwæm
Inst.		hwȳ, hwī, hwon

The masc. form is used for both masculine and feminine pronouns, but in late O.E. the forms *zehwære*, *zehwære* appear for dat. and gen. sing. fem., made on the model of the demonstratives *ðære*.

Other interrogative pronouns are: *hwæðer*, *which of two*; *hwilc*, *hwylc*, *hwelc*, *which of many*, and *hūlic*, *of what kind*? They follow the strong declension of the adjective.

INDEFINITE PRONOUN

§ 142. Nouns, adjectives, and pronouns are used with indefinite meaning. The chief are.—

The interrogative pronouns *hwā*, *hwæðer*, and *hwilc*, which could be used—

- (a) Alone.
- (b) With the prefix *ā-* *āhwa*, *āhwæðer*, *āhwilc*.
- (c) With the prefix *3e-* (31-) *zehwā*, *zehwæðer*, *zehwilc*.
- (d) With the double prefix *æ3* (*ā31-*): *æ3l wā*, *æ3hwæðer*, *æ3hwilc*.
- (e) In combination with *swā*, *so*, *swā hwā swā*, etc.
- (f) With the suffix *-hwe3a*, *-hwu3u*, *-hu3u*; as *hwæthwu3u*, *somewhat*; *hwelchwu3u*, *some one*, etc.
- (g) In the phrases *nāt hwæt*, *something*, lit. *I know not what*; *nāthwelc*, *some one*; *lōc hwæðer*, *whichever*, *lōc hwæt*, *whatever*. Other indefinite pronouns are *ælc*, *each*, *æni3*, *any*, *næni3*, *none*; *ān*, *a, one*; *nān*, *none*; *man*, *one*, *ōðer*, *other*, *sum*, *some*, *swilc*,

swelc, *such*; *byslic*, *buslic*, *pyllic*, *such*, *wiht*, *wuht*, *anything*, and its derivatives *āwih̄t*, *ōwih̄t*, *nāwih̄t*, *nōwih̄t*; *nāthwær*, *somewhere*, and *lōc hwær*, *wherever*; *lōc hwonne*, *whenever*.

ADVERBS

§ 143 Adverbs were formed from adjectives in O.E. by the addition of the suffix *-e*, an old locative ending which is seen also in the instrumental of the adjective. This suffix was added. —

(a) To monosyllabic *a-* stems, as. *dēope*, *deeply*, *zeorne*, *willingly*, *glæde*, *gladly*, *hlūde*, *loudly*; *lange*, *long*, *sweotole*, *clearly*, *swiðe*, *strongly*, *unzefōze*, *excessively*, formed from the adjectives *dēop*, *zeorn*, *glæd*, *hlūd*, *lang*, *sweetol*, *swiþ*, *unzefōz*.

(b) To adjectives with *ja-* stems, as *blīðe*, *joyfully*, *clæne*, *cleanly*; *ēce*, *eternally*, *frēcne*, *dangerously*, *zedēfe*, *fitly*. Such adverbs have the same form as the corresponding adjectives.

Note—In some instances adjectives with both *a-* and *ja-* stems occur, formed from the same root, such as *smōþ*, *smēðe*, *smooth*, *sōft*, *sēfte*, *soft*, *swōt*, *swēte*, *sweet*. In these cases the adverb shows the unmutated vowel, as: *smōðe*, *sōfte*, *swōte*.

(c) To adjectives in *-lic*, as *dollice*, *foolishly*; *ēðelice*, *easily*; *frēondlice*, *in a friendly way*, *gelice*, *equally*; *luflice*, *lovingly*; *singallice*, *continually*.

From these a suffix *-lice* arose by which adverbs were formed from other adjectives. Such adverbs are *holdlice*, *graciously*, *hwætlice*, *bravely*, *swiðlice*, *exceedingly*, beside the adjectives *hold*, *hwæt*, *swiþ*.

§ 144 A few adverbs have the ending *-a*, an old ablative suffix corresponding to the common adverbial ending *-ō* of Gothic. Such adverbs are *sōn̄a*, *soon*, *tela*, *well*; *twiwa*, *twice*. But more commonly this ending is found in the combination *-unga*, *-inga*, as in *eallunga*, *altogether*; *færinga*, *færunga*, *suddenly*; *grundlunga*, *completely*; *hōlunga*, *without cause*.

§ 145. The oblique cases of nouns and adjectives were used as adverbs in O.E. Examples are—

Gen. sing. masc. or neuter, *ānstrecas*, *at one stretch*; *æðhwæs*, *altogether*, *dæges*, *by day*, *ealles*, *wholly*, *nealles*, *by no means*; *innanbordes*, *at home*; *norþweardes*, *northwards*; *singales*, *ever*;

wordes, by *word*, or with **-es** added to a feminine noun · **niedes**, of *necessity*, **nihtes**, by *night*.

Inst dat sing of masc or neuter nouns · **eine**, *vigorously*; **fela**, *very*; **hām**, *home*, **torne**, *grievously*, **wihtē**, *at all*

Gen. or dat. sing. of feminine nouns **dæde**, *in deed*, **niede**, *of necessity*.

Inst sing. of adjectives **ealle**, *altogether*, **hwēne**, *somewhat*; **micle**, *greatly*.

Acc. sing.: **eall**, *altogether*; **ēaþ**, *easily*, **ful**, **fol**, *completely*, **norþweard**, *northwards*

Gen. plur **gēara**, *of yore*; **unġēara**, *recently*

Dat plur. **firenum**, *terribly*, **hwilum**, *at times*, **styccemælum**, *here and there*, **wrāðum**, *angrily*, **wundrum**, *wondrously*

§ 146. O E adverbs are also expressed by compounds or by phrases formed from nouns, adjectives, and adverbs with prepositions

Examples are · **ætrihte**, *almost*; **ætforan**, *before*, **beforan**, *before*, **ealneƿeƷ**, **ealneƷ**, *all the way*, **instæpe**, *forthwith*, **mid ealle**, *altogether*; **ofdūne**, *down*, **onbūtan**, *about*, **onefn**, *close by*, **to āhte**, *in aught*, *at all*, **tōdæg**, *to-day*, **tōēacan**, *besides*, **tōemnes**, *alongside*; **wiðinnan**, *within*

§ 147 Adverbs of place are sometimes formed with the suffixes **-er**, to indicate motion towards, and **-an**, to indicate motion from, but **-an** is also found in adverbs expressing rest. Examples of adverbs of place are :—

	<i>Motion towards</i>	<i>Motion from</i>
feorr , <i>feorran</i> , <i>far</i>	feorr	feorran
fore , <i>foran</i> , <i>in front of</i>	forþ	foran
hēr , <i>here</i>	hiðer	heonan
hwær , <i>where</i>	hwider	hwonan
þær , <i>thither</i>	þider	þanon
inne , <i>innan</i> , <i>within</i>	inn	innan
nēah , <i>nigh</i>	nēar	nēan
neoðan , <i>below</i>	niðer	neoðan
ufan , <i>above</i>		ufan
uppe , <i>above</i>	upp	uppan
ūte , <i>out</i>	ūt	ūtan
sūþ , <i>south</i>	sūþ	sūðan

Like *sūþ* go *norþ*, *ēast*, and *west*.

Like *hwær* go *æ3hwær*, *everywhere*, and other compounds of *hwær*.

§ 148 Adverbs of time frequently used are: *ær*, *before*; *fore*, *before*, *þonne*, *then*; *hwanne*, *when*; *æfter*, *after*; *siþþan*, *after*; *ā*, *æ*, *always*, *nā*, *never*. *æfre*, *ever*, *næfre*, *never*, *oft*, *often*, *eft*, *again*. Adverbs of degree are *fela*, *very*, *for*, *very*, *ful*, *fol*, *full*; *hwōn*, *somewhat*; *tō*, *too*; *swiðe*, *very*.

COMPARISON OF ADVERBS

§ 149 The comparative degree is generally expressed by the suffix *-or*, the superlative by *-ost*, or sometimes by *-est*. Examples are the comparatives *oftor*, *more often*, *swiðor*, *more*, *hraðor*, *more quickly*, with their superlatives *oftost*, *swiðost*, *hraðost*, and the superlative *ærest*, *first*.

The following comparatives have been formed by I mutation of the vowel from an earlier suffix *-iz* (Goth. *-is*), which has been lost in O.E. *ær*, *earlier* (Goth. *áris*), *bet*, *better* (Goth. *batis*), *fierr*, *further*, *ieþ*, *more easily*, *læs*, *less*, *leng*, *longer*, *mæ* (also *mā*), *more*; *nȳr*, *nearer*; *sēft*, *more softly*, *wiers*, *worse*, and without mutation *sīþ*, *later*.

Of these, four with their superlatives are from another stem than the positive. They are.—

	Comp. <i>læs</i>	Sup. <i>læst</i>
<i>lyt</i> , <i>little</i>	<i>mæ mā</i>	<i>mæst</i>
<i>micle</i> , <i>much</i>	<i>bet</i>	<i>betst</i>
<i>wel</i> , <i>well</i>	<i>sēl</i>	<i>sēlest</i>
<i>yfele</i>	<i>wiers</i>	<i>wierrest</i> , <i>wyrst</i>

CHAPTER X

VERBS

§ 150. In Old English, as in all Germanic languages, verbs fall into two large classes, the Strong and the Weak. Strong verbs comprise (a) Non-Reduplicating or Graded Verbs, i.e. those which form their preterites and past participles by a change of the root vowel (see Vowel Gradation, Chap V, § 53), as *ridan*, to ride, pret. *rād*, *ridon*, past part *riden*; (b) Reduplicating Verbs (§ 170), i.e. those which at an earlier period, as seen in Gothic, formed their preterites by a reduplicating prefix which consisted of the initial consonant of the stem and the vowel *e* (Gothic *ai*). These verbs occurred with and without gradation. In O E, however, very few cases of reduplication remain, and these verbs also apparently form their preterites by change of vowel only, as for example *hātan*, to command, to which the usual preterite is *hēt*, *hēton*, and the past participle *hāten*, but to which a reduplicating preterite *heht*, corresponding to the Gothic *haihāt*, is sometimes found.

Weak Verbs are those which form their preterites and past participles by the addition of a dental suffix, which may be *d*, *h*, or *t*, as *hælan*, to heal, pret. *hælde*, past part *gehæled*.

Besides these large classes, a small number of mixed verbs are found. These are (a) Preterite-Present Verbs (§ 194), i.e. verbs whose present forms are old strong preterites, which have gained a present meaning and to which weak preterites have been made, as *sceal*, *shall*, pret. *scolde*; (b) a few verbs which have weak forms in the present (-*jan* presents, §§ 168, c, 169, d) but strong preterites, such as *sittan*, to sit, pret. *sæt*, *sæton*, past part. *seten*. There are besides a few other verbs which do not come into any of the above classes.

§ 151. The O E. verb possesses one voice only, the active; four moods, the infinitive, indicative, imperative, and subjunctive (older optative), of which the indicative and subjunctive only are fully

represented, two tenses, present and preterite (older perfect); two numbers, singular and plural, and three persons, which are, however, to be distinguished only in the singular of the present and preterite indicative.

One trace of a true passive form remains in *hätte*, *is called*, to which a plural *hätton* has been formed. Usually the passive is expressed by means of the auxiliaries *bēon* or *wesan*, *to be*, and later by *weorðan*, *to become*, used with the past participle, as *is* (*wæs, wearþ*) *hāten*, *he is (was) called*. Future time is generally expressed by the present, but sometimes, especially in later texts, by the auxiliary *sceal*, *shall*, and the infinitive, as *hit wierþ* or *hit sceal weorðan*, *it shall come to pass*. For perfect and pluperfect either the simple preterite was used or a compound tense made up of the verb *habban*, *to have*, and the past participle, as *sið̅ or hafað̅ slazen*, *he has slain*, *sið̅ or hæfde slazen*, *he had slain*.

Compound tenses formed with *bēon*, *wesan*, *to be*, and the present participle are sometimes found, as *wæron flēonde*, *they were fleeing*, *swelce hēo sprecende sīe*, *as if she were saying*.

CONJUGATION OF A STRONG VERB

§ 152.

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing.					
1.	<i>bere, I bear</i>	<i>weorðe, I become</i>	<i>healde, I hold</i>	<i>tēo, I draw</i>	<i>sitte, I sit</i>
2	<i>bir(e)st</i>	<i>wierst</i>	<i>hieist</i>	<i>tiehst</i>	<i>sit(e)st</i>
3	<i>bir(e)ð</i>	<i>wierþ</i>	<i>hieft</i>	<i>tiehþ</i>	<i>sitt</i>

Plur.

1-3.	<i>berað</i>	<i>weorðað</i>	<i>healdað</i>	<i>tēoþ</i>	<i>sittað</i>
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Subjunctive

Sing.					
1-3.	<i>bere</i>	<i>weorðe</i>	<i>healde</i>	<i>tēo</i>	<i>sitte</i>
Plur.					
1-3.	<i>beren</i>	<i>weorðen</i>	<i>healden</i>	<i>tēon</i>	<i>sitten</i>

Imperative

Sing.					
2.	<i>ber</i>	<i>weorþ</i>	<i>heald</i>	<i>tēoh</i>	<i>sit</i>
Plur.					
2.	<i>berað</i>	<i>weorðað</i>	<i>healdað</i>	<i>tēoþ</i>	<i>sigtāð</i>

Infinitive					
	beran	weorðan	healdan	tēon	sittan
Present Participle					
	berende	weorðende	healdende	tēonde	sittende
PRÆTERITE					
Indicative					
Sing.					
1.	bær	wearþ	hēold	tēah	sæt
2.	bære	wurde	hēolde	tuȝe	sæte
3.	bær	wearþ	hēold	tēah	sæt
Plur.					
	bæron	wurdon	hēoldon	tuȝon	sæton
Subjunctive					
Sing.					
1-3.	bære	wurde	hēolde	tuȝe	sæte
Plur.					
1-3.	bæren	wurden	hēolden	tuȝen	sæten
Past Participle					
	boren	worden	healden	toȝen	seton

Notes. -For the use of þ and ð see § 4, Note.

PERSONAL ENDINGS

§ 153 (1) Indo-Germanic, like Greek, had two endings for the 1st pers. sing. of the present indicative, *-ō* and *-mi*. In Germanic a few verbs only retained the ending *-mi*; the general form was *-ō*, which became regularly *-u* in OE and should have fallen after long syllables (§§ 42, 3, α; 43, A (4))

It is preserved as *-u*, later *-o*, in Northumbrian and Mercian and appears after short and long syllables alike. It is also sometimes found in the oldest WS and Kentish texts, but in these dialects it was soon replaced by the ending *-e*, owing in part to the influence of the endings *-est* and *-eð* of the 2nd and 3rd persons, and in part to that of the *-e* of the subjunctive singular

(2) The ending of the 2nd pers. sing. is that of the weak verbs, which was in Germanic **-is*, from an older *-esi* (§ 43, A (2), B (1)). In weak verbs the accent was originally on the ending and there-

Infinitive					
	beran	weorðan	healdan	tēon	sittan
Present Participle					
	berende	weorðende	healdende	tēonde	sittende
PRETERITE					
Indicative					
Sing.					
1.	bær	wearp	hēold	tēah	sæt
2.	bære	wurde	hēolde	tuȝe	sæte
3.	bær	wearp	hēold	tēah	sæt
Plur.					
	bæron	wurdon	hēoldon	tuȝon	sæton
Subjunctive					
Sing.					
1-3.	bære	wurde	hēolde	tuȝe	sæte
Plur.					
1-3.	bæren	wurden	hēolden	tuȝen	sæten
Past Participle					
	boren	worden	healden	toȝen	seten

Note.—For the use of þ and ð see § 4, Note.

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Note —In North the -eð of the 3rd pers sing became -es, and the -að of the plur became -as. In the 2nd pers the "t" was not borrowed

§ 154 The ending of the singular of the present subjunctive is regularly -e in O E, but the oldest texts preserve an earlier form -æ (Goth -ai).

§ 155 While regular strong verbs have no ending in the imperative singular, as for instance *ber*, *weorþ*, -jan verbs of the fifth and sixth classes of strong verbs have the -e of the first weak conjugation (§ 176), to which their present forms belong. Examples are *site*, *sit*, *sciepe*, *create*

§ 156 The 2nd pers sing preterite indicative is a new formation in W Germanic, made by adding the ending -e to the stem of the preterite plural

Preterite present verbs keep the earlier form with the ending -t (§ 58, Note) added to the stem of the 1st and 3rd persons

The earliest form of the ending of the pict plural indicative is in O E -un (§ 14), which is preserved in the dialects and in very early W.S. texts. The usual form in W.S. is -on; later -an is found. As in the present indicative, it is the form of the 3rd person which has survived

§ 157. The -e of the ending of the preterite subjunctive represents an earlier i, as seen in Gothic, and should have caused i mutation of the stem vowel. Traces of mutation appear in preterite-present verbs, as in *þyrfe*, from *þurfan*, to *dare*, but in regular strong verbs in O E the unmutated vowel of the indicative was early introduced into the subjunctive

Note 1.—In late texts the ending -on, -an of the preterite indicative is frequently found for the -en of the subjunctive present and preterite,

Note 2.—The -n of the present subjunctive and of the present indicative of preterite-present verbs was often lost when one of the pronouns *wē* or *ge* followed immediately as subject, as *þurfe wē*, *do we need?* Later the -að of the regular present indicative was replaced by -e, by analogy, as *binde ge*, *bind ye*.

§ 158 Before going on to the various classes of verbs a few further remarks may be added. It must be noted that the i of the earlier ending of the 2nd and 3rd person present indicative has had a twofold influence upon the stem.

(a) *e* has become *i*, as in *bireð*, older *biriþ*, beside *beran*, *to bear* (§ 15), and other vowels have undergone *i* mutation, as in *ciest* beside *cēosan*, *to choose*, *hieft* beside *healdan*, *to hold*; *wierst* beside *weorðan*, *to become* (§§ 33, 34)

(b) In *-jan* verbs of the fifth and sixth classes of strong verbs, such as *licgan*, *to lie*, *hebban*, *to raise*, *scieppan*, *to create*, the consonant has not been doubled in the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the present indicative, *liþ(e)st*, *liþeð*; *hef(e)st*, *hefeð*; *sciep(e)st*, *scliepeð*, since the *j* which caused the doubling fell before *i* (§§ 64, Note, 74, 2). The same explanation applies to the imperative singular of these verbs.

(c) The infinitive was originally a neuter noun, of which only the accusative singular remains regularly in O.E. A trace of its nominal origin is seen in a dat. sing. formed on the model of *ja*-nouns, as in *tō beranne*, etc.

(d) The past participle is found in Old English with and without the prefix *ge-*. the student must be prepared to find both forms in the same word in O.E. texts, as for example *hāten* or *gehāten* for the past participle of *hātan*, *to command*.

Other parts of the verb beside the past participle show this prefix, its original force having been to express completeness. A special meaning in Old English, derived from this, is that of attainment of the object, as in *friþnan*, *to ask*, but *zefriþnan*, *to learn*; *winnan*, *to strive*, but *zewinnan*, *to gain*.

NON-REDUPLICATING OR GRADED VERBS

§ 159 The subject of Vowel Gradation has been dealt with briefly in Chap. V, § 53. It may, however, be convenient to repeat here that, in O.E. strong verbs of Classes I to V, the stem vowel may assume three or four forms: that the first will be found in all the present tenses, i.e. in infinitive, imperative, and present indicative and subjunctive, the second in the 1st and 3rd person singular of the preter. indicative, the third in the 2nd person singular (§ 156) and in the plural of the preterite indicative, in the singular and plural of the preterite subjunctive, and sometimes in the past participle. Some classes have, however, a fourth form in the past participle. In the sixth class the vowel appears in two forms only.

In O.E. six classes of Non-Reduplicating Verbs are to be distinguished, as in the other Germ. languages, but many subdivisions have arisen owing to the working of special O.E. sound laws. •

CLASS I. VOWEL SERIES *i*, *ā*, *i*

§ 160 Here belong all strong verbs with *i* in the present.

(a) Regular type

drifan, to drive, go; *drāf*, *drifon*; *drifen*.

(b) Showing Verner's Law (§ 61)

liðan, to travel; *lāþ*, *lidon*; *liden*.

(c) Showing contraction and Verner's Law (§§ 40, 1, 73, 2)

þeon, to prosper; *þāh*, *þeah*, *þizon*; *þizen*.

Like *drifan* go *bīdan*, to abide, *bitan*, to bite, *blīcan*, to shine; *zewitan*, to depart, *hrīnan*, to touch; *ridan*, to ride, *rīsan*, to rise, *scīnan*, to shine, *swīcan*, to wander, to cease from, *wītan*, to look, *writan*, to write, and many others.

Like *liðan* goes *sniðan*, to cut.

Like *þeon* go *lēon*, to lend, *sēon*, to sift, *tēon*, to accuse, and *wrēon*, to cover.

Note 1.—*þeon* belonged originally to the third class and had a form **þinhan* (§ 63). Traces of this appear in a pret. plur. indicative *oferþungon*, pret. subjunctive *þunge*, and past part. *geþungen* (used as an adjective) and *oferþungen* (§ 61).

Note 2.—Verbs of Class I with *eo* often formed their pretenses and past participles on the model of those of Class II, which also had *eo* in the present, as in a pret. sing. *þeah*, plur. *þuzon*, past part. *þozen*, instead of *þāh*, *þizon*, *þizen*, from *þeon*, to prosper.

Note 3.—In *rīsan* the -s of the first and second stems has been carried into the third, giving pret. plur. *rison*, past part. *risen*, for **riron*, **riren*.

Note 4.—In verbs with stems ending in -j, here and in other classes, as *hnījan*, to bow, *sīzan*, to sink, *stīzan*, to rise, the pretense singular has forms with -h, as in *hnāh* beside *hnāz* (see § 72 (6)).

CLASS II. VOWEL SERIES *eo*, *ēa*, *u*, *o*

§ 161 Here belong all strong verbs with *eo* in the present, except contracted verbs

(a) Regular type.

bēodan, to command; *bēad*, *budon*; *boden*.

(b) Showing Verner's Law (§ 61).

cēosan, to choose, *cēas*, *curon*; *coren*.

(c) Showing contraction and Verner's Law (§§ 40, 1; 73, 2).

tēon, *to draw*; tēah, tuzon; tozen.

(d) Aorist presents (Note 2)

būzan, *to bow*, bēah, bēaz, buzon; bozen.

Like bēodan go brēowan, *to brew*; clēofan, *to cleave*; drēozan (pret. drēah, drēaz), *to do, endure*, flēotan, *to float*; flēozan (pret. flēah, flēaz), *to fly*; 3ēotan, *to pour*, hrēowan, *to rue*; iēozan (pret. iēah, iēaz), *to lie*; scēotan, *to shoot*, and others

Like cēosan go drēosan, *to fall*, forlēosan, *to lose*; frēosan, *to freeze*, hrēosan, *to fall*, sēočan, *to boil*.

Like tēon goes flēon, *to flee*

Like būzan go brūcan, *to enjoy, use*, dūfan, *to dive*; iūtan, *to bend*; scūfan, *to push, shove*, and a few others.

Note 1.—For *o* in the past part here, and in Classes III and IV, see Chap. II, § 17.

Note 2.—Aorist present verbs are those which have the vowel of the pret plural and past participle (i.e. of the weak grade, Chap. V, § 53) in the present. In Class II this *u* appears lengthened

Note 3.—ofhrēowan, *to rue*, has an irregular pret. sing. ofhrēow.

CLASS III. VOWEL SERIES *e* (i, eo); *a* (o, æ, ea); *u*; *u* (o)

§ 162 Here belong all strong verbs which had *e* originally in the present and whose stems end in a liquid or nasal followed by another consonant, or, in a few cases, by other consonant groups. They fall into four sub-classes, as follows —

§ 163. I Verbs with stems ending in a nasal and another consonant (§§ 15, 17)

bindan, *to bind*, band, bond (§ 29, 1, a), bundon; bunden.

Like bindan go climban, *to climb*, drincan, *to drink*; findan, *to find*, ȝelimpan, *to happen*, hlīmmæy, *to resound*, onȝinnan, *to begin*; sincan, *to sink*; singan, *to sing*; springan, *to spring*, swimman, *to swim*; swincān, *to toil*; pringan, *to press*, windan, *to wind*; winnan, *to strive*.

Irregular are biernan, *to burn*; barn, born, burnon; burnen; and iernan, *to run*, arn, orn, earn, urnon; urnen, with metathesis of the *r* and the vowel (§ 66, Note). The regular form rinnan is sometimes found, especially in the sense of *to flow*.

§ 164 II Verbs with stems ending in *i* and another consonant (§§ 30, 31).

(a) Regular type

helpan, to *help*, **healp**, **hulpon**; **holpen**.

(b) With breaking in the present before **lc**, **lh** (see Note).

meolcan, to *milk*, **mealc**, **mulcon**; **molcen**.

(c) With initial **ȝ** (§ 32)

ȝieldan, to *pay*, **ȝeald**, **guidon**; **golden**.

Like **helpan** go **belȝan**, to *be angry*; **delfan**, to *delve*; **meltan**, to *melt*, **swelȝan**, to *swallow*; **swellan**, to *swell*; **sweltan**, to *die*.

Like **meolcan** goes **āseolcan**, to *become languid*.

Like **ȝieldan** go **ȝiellan**, to *scream*. **ȝielpa**, to *boast*.

Note.—**fēolan**, to *enter*, for older ***feolhan** (§ 78 (2)), has regular forms **fealh**, **fulȝon**, **folȝen**, and later a preterite plural **fālon** and past participle **folen**, formed on the analogy of the verbs with stems in **-l** of Class IV.

§ 165 III Verbs with stems ending in **r** + cons or **h** + cons. (§§ 30, 31).

(a) Regular type

beorȝan, to *conceal*; **beaȝ**, **beaȝh**, **burȝon**; **borȝen**.

feohtan, to *fight*, **feah**, **fukton**; **fohten**.

(b) Showing Verner's Law (§ 61)

weorðan, to *become*, **weaȝ**, **wurdon**; **worden**.

Like **beorȝan** go **ceorfan**, to *carve*, **hweorfan**, to *turn*, **steorfan**, to *die*; **weorpan**, to *throw*, and a few others

Note —**hweorfan**, **weorpan**, **weorðan** have later forms **hwurfan**, **wurpan**, **wurðan** (§ 33, b).

§ 166. Verbs with stems ending in other consonant groups

breȝdan, to *move quickly*, **bræȝd**, **bruȝdon**; **broȝden**

streȝdan, to *strew*, **stræȝd**, **struȝdon**; **stroȝden**

frīȝnan, to *ask*, **fræȝn**, **fruȝnon**; **frīȝnen**

berstan, to *burst*, **bæst**, **burston**; **borstæn**

þerscan, to *thrust*, **þærsc**, **þurscon**; **þorscen**

murnan, to *mourn*, **mearn**, **murnon**; **murnen**

spurnan, to *spurn*, **spearu**, **spurnon**; **spurnen**

Note 1 —**breȝdan** and **streȝdan** have later forms **brēdan**, **strēdan**, **bræd**, **stræd** (§ 72, 7); **breȝdan** has also a pret plural **brūdon**, and a past participle **brōden**, formed by analogy with the present **brēdan**.

Note 2.—*frīgan*, which originally belonged to Class V, has the following forms *frīnan*, *frān*, *frūnon*, (3e)*frūnen*; also preterites *fīæng*, *frungon*, with a past participle (3e)*frungen*; an infin *frinnan* with a pret plural *frunnon* and a past participle *zefrugen*. The *n* belonged originally to the present stem only and was borrowed into the other tenses.

Note 3.—*berstan*, *perscan* have no breaking because the *e* and *æ* have come to stand before *r* + cons. by metathesis, after breaking had ceased to work (§ 66, Note). The older forms were **brestan*, **prescan*.

Note 4—*murnan* and *spurnan* are aorist presents (§ 161, Note 2).

CLASS IV VOWEL SERIES *e* (i), *æ* (ō), *ǣ* (ō), *o* (u)

§ 167 Here belong all strong verbs which had *e* originally in the present and whose stems end in a single liquid or nasal.

1 Verbs whose stems end in a liquid

(a) Regular type

beran, to bear, *bær*, *bæron*; *boren*.

(b) With initial *sc* (§ 32)

scieran, to cut; *scear*, *scearon*; *sc(e)oren*.

Like *beran* go *cwelan*, to die, *helan*, to conceal; and *stelan*, to steal, *teran*, to tear, and others

2 Verbs whose stems end in a nasal (§ 29) Two verbs only belong here.—

cuman, to come, *c(w)ōm*, *c(w)ōmon*; *cumen*; and *niman*, to take, *nōm*, *nōmon*; *numen*.

Note 1—The *ō* in the pret sing of *cwōm* and *nōm* is borrowed from the plural, the right form would be *c(w)am* or *c(w)om*, *nam* or *nom* (§ 29).

Note 2.—*cuman* is an aorist present verb (§ 161, Note 2). In the present subjunctive the forms *cyme*, *cymen* occur beside the regular ones with *u*, from the influence of the 3rd pers. sing *cynseō* (§ 158, a). The *w* in the pret. plural is regularly developed from Indg. *g* (§ 59) before *ē*. It is sometimes extended to the pret. singular, sometimes lost in both forms from the influence of the infinitive *cuman*. A past participle *cymen* is found with *i* mutation (§ 34).

CLASS V. VOWEL SERIES *e*, *æ*, *ǣ*, *e*.

§ 168 Here belong all verbs which had *e* originally in the present and whose stems end in a single consonant other than a liquid or nasal.

- (a) Regular type.
metan, to *measure*, *mæt*, *mæton*; **meten**.
- (b) With initial *ȝ* (§ 32).
ȝiefan, to *give*, *ȝeaf*, *ȝēafon*; **ȝiefen**.
- (c) Showing Verner's Law (§ 61)
cweðan, to *say*, *cwæþ*, *cwædon*; **cweden**.
- (d) Showing contraction (§§ 40, 1; 73, 2) and Verner's Law
ȝefēon, to *rejoice*, *ȝefeah*, *ȝefæȝon*; *ȝefeȝen*
sēon, to *see*; *seah*, *sāwon* or *sæȝon*; *sewen*, *seȝen* or *sawen*.
- (e) With *-jan* present, *i e* with doubled consonant in the present (§ 64). (Weak-Strong Verbs)
licgan, to *lie*, *læȝ*, *læȝon*; *leȝen*.

Like **metan** go **brecan**, to *break*, **drepan**, to *strike*, **sprecan**, to *speak*, **swefan**, to *sleep*, **tredan**, to *travail*, **weðan**, to *weave*, **weȝan**, to *move*, **wrecan**, to *avenge*, etc., except that **brecan** and **drepan** sometimes have *o* in the past part on the model of Class IV

etan, to *eat*, and **fretan**, to *devour*, are also conjugated like **metan**, except that they have *æ* in the pret. sing. *æt*, *fræt*.

Like **ȝiefan** go **onȝietan**, to *perceive*, and all compounds of both verbs

Like **cweðan** goes **wesan**, to *be*, with pret. sing. *wæs*, plur. *wæron*. The past part does not occur. In **lesan**, to *gather*, **genesan**, to *be saved*, the *s* of the present has been extended to all forms.

Like **ȝefēon** goes **plēon**, to *risk*.

Like **licgan** go **biddan**, to *pray*, **fricgan**, to *ask*; **þicgan**, to *receive*; and **sittan**, to *sit*.

Note 1.—*sāwon* is the W.S. form of the indicative formed from the subjunctive in which the *w* is regular (§§ 59, Note, 61), *sæȝon* is the true indicative preserved in Anglian to which a subjunctive *sæȝen* was made. The *a* in the past participle *sawen* has not been explained.

Note 2.—For the pret. plural *læȝon*, see § 28.

Note 3.—**fricgan** has irregular past participles, *ȝefriȝen*, *ȝefræȝen*.

Note 4.—**þicgan** has a pret. sing. *þeah* for *þæȝ*, formed on the model of *ȝefeah*. In W.S. it is a weak verb with a pret. *þiȝede*, *þiȝde*, etc.

CLASS VI. VOWEL SERIES *a*, *ō*, *ö*, *ä*.

§ 169. Here belong all strong verbs with *a* in the present not followed by a nasal and another consonant, and also *standan*, to *stand*.

(a) Regular type

faran, to *fare*, *journey*, *fōr*, *fōron*; *faren*, *færen*.

(b) With initial *sc* (§ 32)

sc(e)acan, to *shake*; *sc(e)ōc*, *sc(e)ōcon*; *sc(e)acen*.

(c) Showing contraction (§§ 40, 1, 73, 2) and Verner's Law (§ 61).

slēan, to *slay*, *slō̅̅̅*, *slōh*, *slō̅̅̅on*; *slā̅̅̅zen*, *slā̅̅̅zen*, *slē̅̅̅zen*.

(d) With *-jan* present (§ 168, e) (Weak-Strong Verbs.)

hebban, to *raise*; *hō̅̅̅f*, *hō̅̅̅fon*; *hafen*, *hæfen*.

Like *faran* go *bacan*, to *bake*, *galan*, to *sing*, *hladan*, to *lade*; *sacan*, to *strive*, *wacan*, to *awake*, *wadan*, to *go*, *wascan*, to *wash*.

Note.—*standan*, to *stand*, *stō̅̅̅d*, *stō̅̅̅don*; *standen*, is the only example in O E of the infixal *n* in the present (cf. Latin *vinco*, *vīcī*, etc.) From the present it has been introduced into the past participle.

Like *sc(e)acan* goes *sc(e)afan*, to *shave*

Like *slēan* go *flēan*, to *flay*, *lēan*, to *blame*, *þwēan*, to *wash*

The other *-jan* presents are *hleahhan*, to *laugh*, *scepphan*, to *injure*, *scieppan*, to *create*, *steppan*, to *step*, which are conjugated like *hebban*, and *swerian*, to *swear*, *swō̅̅̅r*, *swō̅̅̅ron*; past part. *sworen* for **swaren*, on the analogy of *boren* and other verbs with stems in *r*. For the absence of doubling in *swerian*, see § 64

The following are irregular —

spanan, to *enter*, *spō̅̅̅n*, *spō̅̅̅non*; *spanen*, which has also a pret. *spēon*, *spēonon*, on the analogy of the reduplicating verb *spannan*, to *clasp*, pret. *spēon(n)*.

weaxan (§ 31), to *grow*; *wēox*, *wēoxon*; *weaxen*, which has *ēo* in the preterite on the analogy of reduplicating verbs with *ea* in the present, like *healdan*, to *hold*.

In *wæcnan*, to *awake*; *wō̅̅̅c*, *wō̅̅̅con*, the *n* is found in the present only

Note 1.—The regular vowel of the past part of this class is “*æ*” before the ending *-en* (§ 27), “*a*” is due to the influence of the infinitive or may go back to an ending *-an* as seen in

Gothic *lezen* (from *lēan*), *slezen* (from *slēan*), and *þwezen* (from *þwēan*) show *i* mutation (§§ 33, 34).

Note 2.—*sceþþan* and *swerian* have weak preterites, *sceþede*, *swerede*, beside the regular forms.

CLASS VII. REDUPLICATING VERBS

§ 170 This is a small class of verbs which corresponds to the reduplicating verbs in Gothic (§ 150), and some of which preserve traces of reduplication in the Anglian dialects. In O E they have come to be conjugated by a change of vowel, the preterite having the same vowel throughout and the past participle showing that of the present. Two classes have to be distinguished, according to whether the vowel of the preterite is *ē* or *eo*. The origin of these vowels is obscure.

The traces of reduplication are *heht*, pret. of *hātan*, *to call*, *command*, *leoic*, pret. of *lācan*, *to move*, *play*, *leort*, pret. of *lāetan*, *to let*, *cause*, *ondreord*, pret. of *ondrædan*, *to fear*, and *reord*, pret. of *rædan*, *to advise*. *heht* occurs also in W S texts, but is an Anglian form. The true W S form would have been **luht*, which is not recorded till the M E. period.

SUB-CLASS I PRETERITES IN *ē*

§ 171 Here belong all strong verbs which have in the present *æ*, or *ā* not followed by *w*; two verbs with *ō*, due to contraction, and one with *a* before a nasal + cons.

- (a) *lāetan*, *to let*, *cause*, *lēt*, *lēton*; *lāten*.
- (b) *hātan*, *to call*, *command*, *hēt*, *hēton*; *hāten*.
- (c) *fōn*, *to seize*, *fēng*, *fēngon*; *fangen*.
- (d) *blāndan*, *to mingle*, *blēnd*, *blēndon*; *blānden*.

Like *lāetan* go *ondrædan*, *to fear*, *rædan*, *to advise*; and *slāpan*, *to sleep*.

Note 1.—*ondrædan*, *rædan*, and *slāpan* have also weak preterites *ondrædde*, *rædde*, *slāpte*.

Like *hātan* go *lācan*, *to move*, *play*, and *sc(e)ādan* (§ 32), *to divide*.

Note 2.—For the passive form *hätte* see § 151.

Note 3.—*sc(e)ādan* has a preterite *scēad* beside *scēd*, and weak forms occur in Anglian.

Like *fōn* goes *hōn*, to *hang*

Note 4.—For the forms *fōn*, *hōn*, older **fōhan*, **hōhan*, see §§ 29, 1, e, 68. *fēng*, *hēng* with -*ng* by Verner's Law (§ 61) are new formations from the plural

SUB-CLASS II. PRETERITES IN *ēo*

§ 172 Here belong all strong verbs which have in the present *ea* before *l* + cons, those with *a* before *n* + cons, except *blandan* (§ 171) and *standan* (§ 169), those with *ēa*, *āw*, *ō*, and two with *ē*

- (a) *healdan*, to *hold*, *hēold*, *hēoldon*; *healden*
- (b) *bannan*, to *summon*, *bēon(n)*, *bēonnon*; *bannen*
- (c) *bēatan*, to *beat*, *bēot*, *bēoton*; *bēaten*
- (d) *cnāwan*, to *know*, *cnēow*, *cnēowon*; *cnāwen*
- (e) *grōwan*, to *grow*, *grēow*, *grēowon*; *grōwen*
- (f) *wēpan*, to *weep*, *wēop*, *wēopon*; *wōpen*

Like *healdan* go *fealdan*, to *fold*, *feallan*, to *fall*, *wealcan*, to *roll*, *wealdan*, to *wield*, and *weallan*, to *boil*

Note 1.—*weaxan*, *wēox*, to *grow*, *wax*, is sometimes included here, but other Germanic languages prove that it belonged originally to the sixth class (§ 169).

Like *bannan* go *gangan*, to *go*, and *spannan*, to *fasten*.

Note 2.—A pret. *bēnn* for *bēonn* also occurs, due to the influence of *blandan* (§ 171, d)

Note 3.—*gangan* has preterites *gēng*, *gēng*, and, in one part of *Bēowulf*, *gang*.

Like *bēatan* go *āhnēapan*, to *pluck*, *hēawan*, to *hew*; and *hlēapan*, to *run*.

Like *cnāwan* go *blāwan*, to *blow*, *breathes*; *crāwan*, to *crow*, *māwan*, to *mow*, *sāwan*, to *sow*, *wāwan*, to *blow*, and one verb with *wā-*, *swapan*, to *sweep*.

Like *grōwan* go *blōtan*, to *sacrifice*; *blōwan*, to *blossom*; *flōwan*, to *flow*; *hrōpan*, to *shout*; *hwōpan*, to *threaten*, *rōwan*, to *row*; *spōwan*, to *succeed*, *swōzan*, to *sound*, *take by force*, and one or two others

Like *wēpan* goes *hwēsan*, to *whet*, in its pret. sing *hwēos*, these being the only forms recorded

Note 4.—It will be observed that the vowels which occur in the present tense of reduplicating verbs are those found in the preterite of the various non-reduplicating classes.

WEAK VERBS

§ 173. The conjugation of these verbs differed in Germanic from that of strong verbs in that their presents were formed with a *j*-suffix to which the personal and other endings were added, and that their preterites were formed with a dental suffix (§ 150). Both suffixes were united to the stem by means of a vowel.

§ 174. Three conjugations are to be distinguished in O E. The first contains those verbs whose connecting vowel was Germ. *i*, from Indg. *e*. This was lost very early in the present, but remained in the preterite, as seen in Gothic *hailjan*, to *heal*, pret. *hailida*; *warjan*, to *forbid*, pret. *warida*. To this class belong in O E nearly all weak verbs with infinitives in *-an*, and a few with infinitives in *-ian* and mutation of the root vowel. The medial vowel of the preterite and past participle has become *e* (§ 43, B, 1), which is, however, usually lost except after short monosyllables (§ 44). Thus O E. *hælan* has a pret. *hælde*, but *werian* has a pret. *werede*.

The second conjugation contains those verbs whose medial vowel was Germ. *ō*, from Indg. *ā*, as seen in Gothic *salbōn*, to *anoint*, pret. *salbōda*, with which compare Lat. *amāre*. To it belong in O E all verbs with infinitives in *-ian* and unmutated root vowels, as in the corresponding O E form *sealfian*. The medial vowel of the preterite and past participle is *o*, as in *sealfode*.

The third conjugation contains those verbs whose connecting vowel was in Germ. *æ*, from Indg. *ē*, cf. Latin *habēre*. Only four verbs remain here in O E. with traces of others, and the conjugation of these four is very irregular.

§ 175. The dental of the preterite suffix occurs in three forms. The usual form is *d*; *t* is found after *h* and all voiceless consonants, and *ð* occurs in two verbs, *cunnan*, to *know*, pret. *cūðe*, and *unnan*, to *grant*, pret. *ūðe*.

The origin of the suffix is uncertain. Some scholars connect it with the verb "to do," a theory which is supported by certain forms in Gothic, such as *hailidēdun*, 3rd pers. plur. pret. indicative, and *hailidēdeina*, 3rd pers. plur. pret. subjunctive of *hailjan*, to *heal*. In these forms the endings *-dēdun*, *-dēdeina*, correspond regularly to the O H. G. *tātun*, *tātīn*, pret. plur. indicative and subjunctive of the verb *tuon*, to *do*. On the other hand this theory would leave unexplained the forms with *ð* and many of those with *t*.

The suffix of the past participle goes back to a Pre-Germ. *tōs, corresponding to the Grk -τός and Lat -tus, and some scholars assume that that of the preterite is connected with it. This theory is supported by the fact that in all Germ languages the consonant in preterite and past participle is the

PERSONAL ENDINGS

§ 176 These are the same as those of strong verbs in the present and preterite subjunctive and in the preterite plural indicative. In the first weak conjugation they are the same also throughout the present indicative. In the singular of the imperative, weak verbs of the first conjugation have an ending -e from -i, older -ī, from Prim Germ *-ijī. This e is, however, preserved only after a short monosyllable, as in *sete ōū*, *set thou*, but *hēal ōū*, older *hāle ōū, *heal thou*. In the second and third conjugations the vowel of the endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers sing of the present indicative and the imperative sing. is -a. In the singular of the preterite indicative of all three conjugations the persons are distinct, the endings being -de, -des(t), -de.

CONJUGATION I

§ 177. Here belong, among others, a large number of verbs formed from nouns and adjectives, and causative verbs formed from the preterite singular of the related strong verbs. It has been seen (§ 174) that after the earliest period of Germanic the j of the present forms came to stand immediately after the final consonant of the stem, as in Gothic *hailjan*, *warjan*. In the W. Germ languages j fell after long monosyllabic stems or stems of more than one syllable, it doubled every single consonant except r after a short vowel and then fell later, after stems containing a short vowel followed by r it was vocalized to i, which remained (§§ 64, 74, 2, c). Later in all cases it mutated the vowel of the stem (§§ 33, 34). In the 2nd and 3rd pers sing. of the indicative and in the imperative singular, j fell early before i (§ 64, Note), no doubling took place therefore, but the i of the ending caused i mutation.

§ 178 In the preterite, medial i caused mutation, but remained only after a short monosyllable and before and after certain groups of consonants (§ 44). Early in O.E. it was weakened to e.

Between two dental consonants *-i-* was lost even after a short syllable, as in *sette* for **setede*, pret. of *settan*, *to set*

§ 179 Certain assimilations took place between the consonants which came to stand together by the loss of medial *i*. *d* was partially assimilated to a preceding voiceless consonant, giving *t*, as in *ciepan*, *to buy*, pret. *ciepte*; *iecan*, *to increase*, pret. *iecte*, later sometimes *iehte*; *pyffan*, *to puff*, pret. *pyffite*; *cyssan*, *to kiss*, pret. *cyste*. *d* was completely assimilated to a preceding *t*, as in *mētan*, *to meet*, pret. *mētte*; *settan*, *to set*, pret. *sette*. *ðd* became *dd*, as in *cȳðan*, *to make known*, pret. *cȳdde* (§ 78, b). Double consonants of the stem were generally simplified before *d* or *t*, as in *fyllan*, *to fill*, pret. *fyld*. *dd* and *tt* after a consonant were simplified, as in *sendan*, *to send*, pret. *sende*; *fæstan*, *to secure*, pret. *fæste* (§ 77, b).

§ 180 Past participles when inflected followed the same rules for syncope of the medial *e* as preterites (§ 178), as in *zefremed*, *performed*, *zewatered*, *worn*, plur. *zefremede*, *zewaterede*, but *zedēmed*, *judged*, plur. *zedēmede*. The contractions are, however, sometimes transferred to the uninflected forms, as *zedēmd*.

§ 181 Weak verbs of the first weak conjugation are subdivided into two classes according to whether their stems consisted originally of (a) a short monosyllable, or (b) a long monosyllable or more than one syllable.

§ 182. SUBDIVISION I. VERBS WITH ORIGINALLY SHORT STEMS

CONJUGATION

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing 1.	fremme, <i>I perform</i>	werie, <i>I defend</i>	sette, <i>I set</i>
2	fremest	werest	setest
3	fremeð	wereð	seteð
Plur. 1-3	fremmað	weriað	settað

Subjunctive

Sing 1-3	fremme	werie	sette
Plur 1-3.	fremmen	werien	setten

Imperative

Sing	freme	were	sete
Plur.	fremmað	weriað	settað

Infinitive

fremman	werian	settan
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Present Participle

fremmende	weriende	settende
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PRETERITE

Indicative

Sing 1.	fremede	werede	sette
2.	fremedest	weredest	settest
3	fremede	werede	sette
Plur. 1-3	fremedon	weredon	setton

Subjunctive

Sing 1-3	fremede	werede	sette
Plur 1-3	fremeden	wereden	setten

Past Participle

gefremed	gewered	geseted
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§ 183 Like **fremman** are conjugated: *āswebban*, to kill; *cnyssan*, to knock, *dynnan*, to din, make a noise, *hlynnan*, to roar; *temman*, to tame, *trymman*, to make strong, to arrange; *pennan*, to stretch, *wennan*, to accustom, train, and a few others. *sceþþan*, to injure, and *þicgan*, to receive, when conjugated as weak verbs belong here (§§ 169, Note 2, 168, Note 4)

Like **werian** are conjugated: *andswerian*, to answer, *besc(i)erian*, to deprive, *byrian*, to pertain to, *derian*, to injure, *erian*, to plough; *ferian*, to carry, (5e)*werian*, to wear; *herian*, to praise, *nerian*, to save, *sc(i)erian*, to assign to; *spyrrian*, to enquire after, and one or two others

Like **settan** are conjugated: *āhreddan*, to rescue, *ettan*, to graze; *cnyttan*, to knit, fasten; *frettan*, to graze, *hwettan*, to incite; *sārettan*, to lament, and all verbs ending in *-ettan*. One verb in *-cg* also belongs here, *lecgan*, to lay.

Note 1.—In verbs of the **werian** type the writings 3, 13, and before a back vowel 13e, occur for i; as in *wer3an*, *weri3an*, or *weri3ean*.

Note 2 —*lecgan* has a contracted past participle *3ele3d*, later *3elēd* (§ 72, 7).

Note 3.—In late O.E. texts many irregularities are found. From the similarity of form in the preterite, verbs of the *fremman* type tend to adopt infinitives in *-lan* and presents on the *werian* model, as in *trymian* for *trymman*, *to strengthen*. On the other hand the double consonant of the present is sometimes found extended to preterite and past participle as in *getrymmed* for *getrymed*.

Because of the similarity of ending in the infinitive, verbs of the *werian* type tend to go over into the second conjugation. For instance, a pret. *nerode* is found for *nerede*, *saved*.

§ 184. SUBDIVISION II. VERBS WITH ORIGINALLY LONG STEMS OR STEMS OF MORE THAN ONE SYLLABLE

CONJUGATION

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1	<i>læde, I lead</i>	<i>grēte, I gress</i>	<i>timbre, I build</i>	<i>zierwe, I prepar</i>
2.	<i>lædest, lætst</i>	<i>grēt(e)st</i>	<i>timbrest</i>	<i>zierest</i>
3	<i>lædeð, lætt</i>	<i>grēteð, grētt</i>	<i>timbreð</i>	<i>ziereð</i>
Plur. 1-3.	<i>lædað</i>	<i>grētað</i>	<i>timbrað</i>	<i>zierwað</i>

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3	<i>læde</i>	<i>grēte</i>	<i>timbre</i>	<i>zierwe</i>
Plur. 1-3.	<i>læden</i>	<i>grēten</i>	<i>timbren</i>	<i>zierwen</i>

Imperative

Sing.	<i>læd</i>	<i>grēt</i>	<i>timbre</i>	<i>ziere</i>
Plur.	<i>lædað</i>	<i>grētað</i>	<i>timbrað</i>	<i>zierwað</i>

Infinitive

<i>lædan</i>	<i>grētan</i>	<i>timbran</i>	<i>zierwan</i>
Present Participle			
<i>lædende</i>	<i>grētende</i>	<i>timbrende</i>	<i>zierwende</i>

PRETERITE

Indicative

Sing. 1	<i>lædde</i>	<i>grētte</i>	<i>timbrede</i>	<i>zierede</i>
2.	<i>læddest</i>	<i>grēttest</i>	<i>timbredest</i>	<i>zieredest</i>
3.	<i>lædde</i>	<i>grētte</i>	<i>timbrede</i>	<i>zierede</i>
Plur. 1-3	<i>læddon</i>	<i>grētton</i>	<i>timbreðon</i>	<i>zieredon</i>

Subjunctive

sing 1-3	lædde	grētte	timbrede	gierede
plur 1-3	lædden	grētten	timbreden	giereden

Past Participle

gelæded	zegrēted	zetimbred	zeglered
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§ 185 Like **lædan** are conjugated **āliesan**, to set free; **ærnan**, to gallop, **bærnan**, to burn up, **benæman**, to deprive of; **dælan**, to share, **dēman**, to judge, **dræfan**, to drive out, **fēdan**, to feed, **fēran**, to journey, **flieman**, to put to flight, **fylzan**, to follow, (for) **wiernan** to refuse; **zehieran**, to hear, **zeliefan**, to believe, **zieman**, to take care of, **hælan**, to heal, **iewan**, to show; **læfan**, to leave, **læran**, to teach, **niedan**, to compel, **ræran**, to raise, **ræsan**, to rush, **rýman**, to enlarge, **þiedan**, to join, **wēnan**, to expect, and a large number of others.

The following show assimilation of the consonant in the preterite **cýðan**, to make known; **cwiðan**, to lament; **hýðan**, to plunder, and one or two others

cennan, to bring forth, **cierran**, to turn, **fyllan**, to fill; **fiellan**, to fell, etc., simplify the double consonant in the preterite.

andwyrdan, to answer, **scioldan**, to shield; **sendan**, to send; **spendan**, to spend, **wendan**, to turn, have one **d** only in the preterite.

nemnan, to name, has a pret **nemde**, past part **nemned**.

Like **grētan** are conjugated **bētan**, to make amends; **iecan**, to increase, **mētan**, to meet, **scencan**, to pour out, **swencan**, to torment; **wētan**, to moisten, **wierpan**, to recover. **cyssan**, to kiss, has pret. **cyste**. **ācraestan**, to devise, (be) **fæstan**, to secure; (3e) **læstan**, to carry out, **þyrstan**, to thirst; **wēstan**, to devastate, simplify the **tt** in the preterite

Like **timbran** are conjugated **bytlan**, to build; **diezlan**, to conceal, **efnan**, to perform, **frēfran**, to comfort, **slzlan**, to sail, and a few other verbs with stems ending in a consonant followed by a liquid or nasal

Like **gierwan** are conjugated (be) **sierwan**, to take by craft, he in **wast** for, and one or two other verbs whose stems end in **-rw**

Note 1.—Verbs like **timbran** have **e** in the imperative sing and preterite, though the stem is long (§ 179)

Note 2.—For the loss of **w** before **i** in the 2nd and 3rd sing present indicative, imperative sing., and pretense, see § 75, 2, b.

Note 3.—Verbs with contraction due to the loss of medial *-h* are *hēan*, to *exalt*, older **hēahan*; *þēon*, to *perform*, *þȳn*, to *press*, with *þets* *hēade*, *þeode*, *þȳle*, and past participles *gehēad*, etc (§ 73, b).

IRREGULAR VERBS OF CONJUGATION I

§ 186 Already in Pre-Germanic a certain number of verbs added the dental suffix of the preterite directly to the stem without the medial vowel. In consequence, while these verbs belong regularly to the first weak conjugation in the present, in the preterite they show two important points of difference.

(1) Every final palatal consonant of the stem must yield the group *ht* in combination with the *t* of the ending (§ 58, 2)

(2) There is no *i* mutation in the preterite and past participle.

§ 187 The verbs which belong here are:—

<i>cwellan</i> , to <i>kill</i> ,	<i>cwealde</i> , <i>ȝecweald</i>
<i>dwellan</i> , to <i>hinder</i> ,	<i>dwealde</i> , <i>ȝedweald</i>
<i>sellan</i> , to <i>give</i> ,	<i>sealde</i> , <i>ȝeseald</i>
<i>stellan</i> , to <i>place</i> ,	<i>stealde</i> , <i>ȝesteald</i>
<i>tellan</i> , to <i>count</i> ,	<i>tealde</i> , <i>ȝeteald</i>
<i>cweccan</i> , to <i>shake</i> ,	<i>cweahte</i> , <i>ȝecweaht</i>
<i>dreccan</i> , to <i>afflict</i> ,	<i>dreahte</i> , <i>ȝedreaht</i>
<i>læccan</i> , to <i>seize</i> ,	<i>læhte</i> , <i>ȝelæht</i>
<i>leccan</i> , to <i>moisten</i> ,	<i>leahte</i> , <i>ȝeleaht</i>
<i>reccan</i> , to <i>narrate</i> ,	<i>reahte</i> , <i>ȝereaht</i>
<i>streccan</i> , to <i>stretch</i> ,	<i>streahte</i> , <i>ȝestreaht</i>
<i>þeccan</i> , to <i>cover</i> ,	<i>þeahte</i> , <i>ȝeþeaht</i>
<i>weccan</i> , to <i>awake</i> ,	<i>weahte</i> , <i>ȝeweaht</i>
<i>bycgan</i> , to <i>buy</i> ,	<i>bohte</i> , <i>ȝeboht</i>
<i>bringan</i> , to <i>bring</i> ,	<i>brōhte</i> , <i>ȝebrōht</i>
<i>þencan</i> , to <i>think</i> ,	<i>þōhte</i> , <i>ȝeþōht</i>
<i>þyncan</i> , to <i>appear</i> , <i>seem</i> ,	<i>þūhte</i> , <i>ȝeþūht</i>
<i>sēcan</i> , to <i>seek</i> ,	<i>sōhte</i> , <i>ȝesōht</i>
<i>wyrcan</i> , to <i>work</i> ,	<i>worhte</i> , <i>ȝeworht</i>

Note 1.—Preterites *cwehte*, *drehte*, etc., are sometimes found with *e* transferred from the present.

Note 2.—*sellan* occurs also in the form *siellan*, *ea* having been adopted from the preterite in time to undergo *i* mutation.

Note 3.—For the *ō* in the preterites *brōhte*, *þōhte*, see §§ 20, 23, 1, *e*, for the loss of *n*, here and in *þūhte*, see § 63.

Note 4 —For the interchange of *y* and *o* in *bycgan* and *wyrcean*, see §§ 17, 34.

Note 5 —*bringan* is really a strong verb of the third class with a rarely found past participle *brungen*. The true present of *brōhte* is *brengan*, which is, however, seldom found.

CONJUGATION II

§ 188 This class, which is a very large one, contains all verbs with infinitives in *-ian* with unmutated stem vowels and a few which show mutation, having been formed from nouns or adjectives with mutated vowels. Examples of the latter are: *herian*, to *ravage*, formed from *here*, *army*, and *clānsian*, to *cleanse*, from *clāne*, *clean*.

Many of the verbs formed from adjectives are intransitive, such as *cealdian*, to *grow cold*.

In Prim Germanic the endings of the present and preterite were joined to the stem by means of the vowel *ō*, giving an infinitive **-ōjan*, a 1st person sing pres indicative **-ōjō*, etc.

In OE this *ō* has been shortened and weakened to *i* in the present, and to *u*, later *o*, in the preterite. The *i* which is seen in the present in OE does not therefore cause *i*, but back mutation (§ 35).

In the 2nd and 3rd persons sing of the pres. indicative, Prim. Germanic had short forms **-ōs-*, **-ōþ*, as well as **-ōjls*, **-ōjiþ*, and these short forms have given the OE endings *-as(t)* and *-aþ* (§ 42, 3).

CONJUGATION

§ 189

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing 1.	<i>lufie</i> , <i>I love</i> .	Plur. 1-3.	<i>lufiaþ</i>
2.	<i>lufast</i>		
3.	<i>lufaþ</i>		

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3.	<i>lufie</i>	Plur. 1-3.	<i>lufien</i>
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Imperative

Sing.	<i>lufa</i>	Plur.	<i>lufiaþ</i>
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Infinitive—*lufian*.Present Participle—*lufiende*

PRETERITE

Indicative

Sing. 1	<i>lufode</i>	Plur. 1-3.	<i>lufodon</i>
2.	<i>lufodest</i>		
3.	<i>lufode</i>		

Subjunctive

Sing 1-3	<i>lufode</i>	Plur. 1-3.	<i>lufoden</i>
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Past Participle—*zelufod*

§ 190 Like *lufian* are conjugated. *bēotian*, to boast; *bismrian*, to insult, deride; *bodian*, to proclaim; *brosnian*, to decay; *eardian*, to inhabit; *earnian*, to earn; *ebbian*, to ebb; *endian*, to come to an end; *fandian*, to test; *folgian*, to follow; *fūlian*, to decay; *geāmetian*, to empty; *gegaderian*, to gather; *herian*, to savage; *hiersumian*, to obey; *leornian*, to learn; *lōcian*, to look; *murcian*, to complain; *notian*, to make use of; *scēawian*, to look at; *seġlian*, to sail; *timbrian*, to build; *tintrian*, to torment; *trūwian*, to trust; *wician*, to dwell; *wunian*, to dwell, be wont; *wundian*, to wound; *wundrian*, to wonder; the contracted verbs *fēon*, *fēoȝan*, older **fīoȝan*, to hate; *frēon*, *frēoȝan*, older **frioȝan*, to love; *smēazan*, older **smauhōȝan*, to consider; *tēon*, *tēoȝan*, older **tīoȝan*, to arrange; *twēon*, *twēoȝan*, older **twelhōȝan*, to doubt; *þrēan*, *þrēazan*, to threaten, and many others.

Note 1.—In the preterite the medial vowel appears as *u* in the oldest texts, the usual form is *o*, which later becomes *a* (§ 44, Note 2).

Note 2.—In later texts medial *o* of the preterite indicative plural becomes *e* by dissimilation before the back vowel of the ending (§ 44, Note 1)

CONJUGATION III

§ 191. Four verbs only remain in this class in OE. They are *habban*, to have; *hyccgan*, to think; *libban*, to live, and *secgan*, to say. The conjugation of these verbs differs in the various Germanic languages. In Prehistoric Old English the *j*- of the endings of the present came to stand immediately after the final consonant of the root and doubled it, and the preterite was formed without a middle vowel. Hence these verbs have no mutation in the preterite. The endings of the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. present indicative and of the imperative singular are the same as in the second conjugation.

CONJUGATION

§ 192.

PRESENT

Indicative

Sing. 1.	hæbbe	hycge	libbe	secge
2.	hæfast, hæfst	hoʒast	lifast, lifast	sæʒast, sæʒst, seʒe
3.	hæfað, hæfþ	hoʒað	lifað, lifað	sæʒað, sæʒþ, seʒeð
Plur. 1-3	habbað, hæbbað	hycg(e)að	libbað	secgað

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3	hæbbe	hycge	libbe	secge
Plur. 1-3.	hæbben	hycgen	libben	secgen

Imperative

Sing.	hafa	hoʒa	lifa, lifa	sæʒa, sæʒe, seʒe
Plur.	habbað	hycgað	libbað	secgað

Infinitive

habban	hycgan	libban	secgan
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Present Participle

hæbbende	hycgende	libbende	secgende
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PRETERITE

Indicative

Sing. 1.	hæfde	hoʒde	lifde	sæʒde, sæde
2.	hæfdest	hoʒdest	lifdest	sæʒdest, sædest
3	hæfde	hoʒde	lifde	sæʒde, sæde
Plur. 1-3.	hæfdon	hoʒdon	lifdon	sæʒdon, sædon

Subjunctive

Sing. 1-3	hæfde	hoʒde	lifde	sæʒde, sæde
Plur. 1-3	hæfden,	hoʒden	lifden	sæʒden, sæden

Past Participle

gehæfd	zehoʒod	zelifd	zesæʒd
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Note 1 —In **hæbbe** and other forms with **æ** before **bb** the vowel has been borrowed from the 2nd and 3rd pers. sing. of the present indicative in time to undergo *i* mutation, in **habban**, **habbað** it has been borrowed too late for this. The right forms would be **hebban**, etc., with doubling of the consonant (§ 64) and *i* mutation of the vowel before *j* (§§ 33, 34).

Note 2.—For the interchange of *o* and *y* in the conjugation of *hycg(e)an*, see §§ 17, 34. Forms *hycest*, *hyceð*, *hyze*, with *y* borrowed from the 1st person, occur, as well as *hoza t*, *hozaþ*, etc. A complete verb *hozian*, pret. *hozode*, is found in the second weak conjugation formed from *hozað*.

Note 3.—For the forms *lifast*, etc., with *io*, see § 35. A verb *lifian*, *leofian*, pret. *lifode*, *leofode*, is found in the second weak conjugation.

Note 4.—*sejest*, *sejeð*, *seze* are late formations on the analogy of verbs of the first weak conjugation, such as *lecgan*, *to lay*, *lejest*, *leze*, etc. For *sæde*, *sædest*, etc., see § 72, 7.

§ 193. Further traces of verbs which originally belonged to this class and out of which two distinct verbs have been formed are to be seen in OE in *fylzan* and *folzian*, *to follow*, *trêowan* and *trûwian*, *to trust*, *tellan* and *talian*, *to count*, *recount*. In these verbs the first form has in each case gone over into the first, and the second into the second weak conjugation.

MINOR CLASSES OF VERBS

PRETERITE-PRESENT VERBS

§ 194. These are strong verbs in which in Pre-Germanic the preterite forms had gained a present meaning, and for which new weak preterites had then been made. For instance *wāt*, *I know*, Grk. *oîda*, *I know*, represents the old perfect of a verb *to see*, cognate of the Latin *videre*, and meant therefore originally *I have seen*. These verbs belong to one or other of the six non reduplicating classes according to their present tenses, which show the vowel of the preterite of the corresponding class. Their preterites and past participles were formed like the irregular verbs of the first weak conjugation, without a medial vowel (§ 186). Those verbs therefore with present stems ending in a palatal consonant have *ht*, those with a labial have *ft*, and those with a dental have *ss* or *st* in the preterite (§ 58, 2). The same consonant group is seen also in the 2nd person sing. of the present indicative.

§ 195. The conjugation of these verbs offers two points of special importance. (1) The 2nd person sing. of the present indicative preserves the early method of forming the 2nd person sing. of the preterite by adding *-t* to the stem of the 1st and 3rd persons (§ 186), as in *sceal*, *scealt*, *shall*, *shalt*. In many cases an *s* has been introduced before the *t*, or a *t* added after the *s*, partly from the influence

of the regular ending *-est* of the 2nd person sing. of the present indicative, and partly from that of *dearst* (§ 202), in which both are regular. (2) The subjunctive forms sometimes show *i* mutation (§§ 33, 34), keeping a trace of the true endings of the preterite subjunctives, 1st pers. sing. *-īm*, 2nd *-is*, etc. (§ 157). The infinitive, present participle, and imperative are new formations in Germanic from the stem of the preterite plural.

§ 196. The following are the verbs which belong here. They are arranged under the classes of strong verbs with which they are connected. In the case of many of them only certain forms are extant.

§ 197.

CLASS I. *witan, to know*

Pres. Indic. sing.	<i>wāt, wāst, wāt</i> ;	plur. <i>witon, wioton, wieton, wut</i>
Pres. Subj. sing.	<i>wite</i> ;	plur. <i>witen</i>
Imperative sing.	<i>wite</i> ;	plur. <i>witað</i>
Infinitive	<i>witan</i>	
Pres. Participle	<i>witende, weotende</i>	
Pret. Indic. sing.	1st and 3rd pers. <i>wisse, wiste</i> ;	2nd <i>wissest, wistes</i>
		plur. <i>wisson, wiston</i>
Pret. Subj. sing.	<i>wisse, wiste</i>	plur. <i>wissen, wisten</i>
Past Participle	<i>zewiten, zewieten</i> ;	participle used as adjective
		<i>zewiss, certain</i>

Note 1.—The forms *wāst, wiste, wiston* have their *t* from forms like *dearst, dorste* (§ 202); *scealt* (§ 203); *dohte* (§ 196), in which it is regular. *wisse, wisson* are the right forms of the preterite, and the 2nd person sing. pres. indic. should be *wās* (§ 53, 2).

Note 2.—For the back mutation in *wioton, wieton, weotende*, see § 85.

Note 3.—For *wufon* see § 93, b.

Note 4.—Negative forms occur: *nāt, I know not, nyton*, etc., with contraction of the negative particle *ne* with the verb (§ 75, 1, Note).

§ 198.

CLASS II. *duzan, to avail, be of value*

Pres. Indic. sing.	1st and 3rd pers. <i>dēaz, dēah</i> ;	plur. <i>duzon</i>
Pres. Subj. sing.	<i>dyze, duze</i>	
Infinitive	<i>duzan</i>	
Pres. Participle	<i>duzende</i>	

Pret Indic. sing.	dohte, dohtest, dohte	
Pret Subj. sing	dohte;	plur. dohten

§ 199. CLASS III. *unnan, to grant, wish well*

Pres. Indic. sing	1st and 3rd pers. ann;	plur. unnon
Pres Subj. sing	unne;	plur. unnen
Infinitive	unnan	
Pres Participle.	unnende	
Pret Indic. sing.	1st and 3rd pers. ūðe;	plur. ūðon
Pret Subj. sing.	ūðe;	plur. ūðen
Past Participle	geunnen	

§ 200. *cunnan, to know, be able*

Pres Indic. sing.	can(n), canst, can(n);	plur. cunnon
Pres Subj. sing.	cunne;	plur. cunnen
Pret. Indic. sing.	cūðe, cūðest, cūðe;	plur. cūðon
Pret Subj. sing	cūðe	plur cūðen
Past Participle	-cunnen; participle used as adjective, cūþ, known	

Note 1 —The *s* in *canst* is borrowed from forms like *dearst* (§ 202), in which it is regular, see § 67, *Note*.

Note 2.—For the loss of *n* in *ūðe*, *cūðe*, see § 67.

§ 201. *þurfan, to need*

Pres Indic. sing.	þearf, þearft, þearf;	plur. þurfon
Pres Subj. sing.	þyrfe, þurfe;	plur. þyrfen
Infinitive	þurfian	
Pres Participle	þurfende, þyrfende, þearfende	
Pret. Indic. sing.	þorfte, þorftest, þorfte;	plur þorfton
Pret. Subj. sing.	þorfte	

Note —The pres. participle *þearfende* has its *ea* from the indicative sing.

§ 202. *durran, to dare*

Pres Indic. sing.	dearr, dearst, d ^h arr;	plur. durron
Pres Subj. sing.	dyrr, durre	
Infinitive	durran	
Pret Indic. sing.	dorste;	plur. dorston
Pret. Subj. sing.	dorste;	plur dorsten

Note.—*dearr* has its *rr* from the plur. *durron* in which it has arisen regularly by Verner's Law (§ 61). The right form would be *dears* (Goth. *gadars*).

§ 203. CLASS IV. *sculan, to owe, have to do*Pres. Indic. sing. *sceal, scealt, sceal*; plur. *sculon, sc(e)olon*Pres. Subj. sing. *scyle, scule, sc(e)ole*; plur. *scylen, sculen, sc(e)olen*Infinitive *sculan, sc(e)olan*Pret. Indic. sing. *sc(e)olde, sc(e)oldest, sc(e)olde*; plur. *sc(e)oldon*Pret. Subj. sing. *sc(e)olde* plur. *sc(e)olden**Note.*—For the forms *sceal, sceolon, sceolde*, see § 32.§ 204. *munan, to think*Pres. Indic. sing. *man, manst, man*; plur. *munon*Pres. Subj. sing. *myne, mune*; plur. *munen*Imperative sing. *(3e)mun*Infinitive *munan*Pres. Participle *munende*Pret. Indic. sing. *munde*Past Participle *gemunen**Note* —*manst* like *canst* (§ 200) has its *s* from the form *dearst*.§ 205. CLASS V. *mazan, to be able*Pres. Indic. sing. *mæ3, meaht or miht, mæ3*; plur. *mazon*Pres. Subj. sing. *mæ3e* plur. *mæ3en*Infinitive *mazan*Pres. Participle *mazende*Pret. Indic. sing. 1st and 3rd pers. *meahte, mihte, mehte*;
2nd pers. *meahtest, mihtest, mehtest*;
plur. *meahton, mihton, mehton*Pret. Subj. sing. *mihte, mehte, meahte** Past Participle used as adjective, *meaht, mighty**Note.*—The forms with *ea* are the true indicative, those with *i* the subjunctive, showing *i* mutation (§§ 33, 34, 36, a), but they are not kept distinct. Forms with *e* are dialectal or late W.S.§ 206 *zenuzan, benuzan, to suffice*Pres. Indic. sing. *-neah,* plur. *-nuzon*Pres. Subj. sing. *-nu3e*Infinitive *-nuzan*Pret. Indic. sing. *-nohte*

This verb is very sparsely recorded.

§ 207. CLASS VI *mōtan, may*

Pres. Indic sing	mōt, mōst, mōt ;	plur mōton
Pres Subj. sing	mōte ;	plur. mōten
Infinitive	mōtan	
Pret Indic sing.	mōste, mōstest, mōste ;	plur mōston.
Pret. Subj. sing.	mōste	

Note—For the *t* in mōst, mōste, mōston, etc., see wāst, wiste (§ 197, Note 1) The true forms would be mōs, mōse, mōson (§ 58, 2)

§ 208. CLASS VII. *āzan, to possess*

Pres. Indic sing	āz, āh, āhst, āz, āh ;	plur āzon
Pres Subj. sing	āze ;	plur āzen
Infinitive	āzan	
Pres Participle	āzende	
Pret. Indic. sing	āhte, āhtest, āhte ;	plur āhton
Pret. Subj. sing	āhte ;	plur āhten
Past Participle	āzen	

Note 1.—āhst, like canst (§ 200), has its *s* from forms like dearst.

Note 2.—For the *i* mutation in dyze; þyrfe, þyrfen; dyrrē; scyle, scylen; myne; mihte, mihton, see § 195, 2, and §§ 33, 34. þyrfende has borrowed the *y* from the subjunctive.

Note 3.—For the *u* beside *o* in duzon, dohte; þurfon, þorfte; durron, dorste; sculon, scolde, see § 17

Note 4.—For the *-ht* in dohte, meahte, -nohte, āhte, see § 58, 2.

Note 5.—For the *-h* in dēah, āh, beside dēaz, āz, see § 72, 6.

VERBS IN *-mi* (§ 153)

§ 209 Four verbs only belong here They are *eom*, *I am*; *dōn*, *to do*, *gān*, *to go*; and *willan*, *to will*. Of these, two only retain traces of the ending *-mi* in Old English *eom* and the Anglian *dōm*, *I do*; the conjugation of all is defective.

I. *eom*, *bēon*

§ 210 The verb “to be” is formed from three roots in O E. —

(a) From a root *es-*, *gr-* (cf. Grk *εἶμι*, from older *ἐσμι*, and Lat *esse*); (b) from a root **bheu*, related to the Lat *fui*; and (c) from a root *wes*.

(a) From the root *es-*, *er-* come the forms :—

PRESENT		
	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	<i>eom, I am</i>	} <i>sie</i>
2.	<i>eart</i>	
3.	<i>is</i>	
Plur.	<i>sint, sindon</i>	<i>sien</i>

Note.—The ending *-on* in *sindon* is borrowed from the preterite-present verbs.

Anglian forms are: *eam* or *am*, *earþ* or *arþ*, *earum* or *aron*.

(b) From the root **bheu*, come the forms :—

PRESENT			
	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1.	<i>bēo (bīo), I am</i>	} <i>bēo</i>	<i>bēo</i>
2.	<i>bist</i>		
3.	<i>biþ</i>		
Plur.	<i>bēoþ</i>	<i>bēon</i>	<i>bēoþ</i>

Infinitive *bēon*; Present Participle *bēonde*.

Note.—Forms with *io* occur in all parts of the verb.

Anglian forms are a 1st pers. sing. *bēom*, with *m* borrowed from *eom*, and a plur. *bi(o)þun*, with *-un* from the preterite-present verbs and back mutation (§ 85).

(c) *wesan* is a strong verb of the fifth class (§ 168). All the preterite tenses of "to be" are supplied from it, and some forms of the present.—

PRETERITE		
	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	<i>wæs, I was</i> "	} <i>wære</i>
2.	<i>wære</i> "	
3.	<i>wæs</i>	
Plur.	<i>wæron</i>	<i>wæren</i>

The present forms are an infinitive *wesan*, an imperative sing. *wes* and plur. *wesað*, and a pres. participle *wesende*.

Note.—Negative forms *neom*, *nīs*, *nearon*, *næs*, *nāron*, etc., occur with contraction of the negative particle *ne-* with the verb (§ 75, 1, *Note*).

§ 211.

II. *dōn*, to do.

PRESENT

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1.	dō	} dō	dō
2.	dēst		
3.	dēþ		
Plur.	dōþ	dōn	dōþ

Infinitive *dōn* ; Present Participle *dōnde*.

PRETERITE

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	dyde	} dyde
2.	dydes(t)	
3.	dyde	
Plur. 1-3.	dydon	dyden

Past Participle (3e)*dōn*

Anglian forms are 1st pers. sing. pres indic. *dōm*, *dōam* ; 2nd, *dēst*, *dōas* ; 3rd, *dēþ*, *dōas* ; plur. *dōaþ*, *dōas*, and a pret. plur. *dēdon*, *dēdon*.

Kentish has a pret. sing. *dede*, plur. *deodon*.

§ 212.

III. *gān*, to go.

PRESENT

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>	<i>Imperative</i>
Sing. 1.	gā	} gā	gā
2.	gāest		
3.	gāþ		
Plur.	gāþ	gān	gāþ

Infinitive *gān* , Past Participle (3e)*gān*.

No preterite forms are extant. Their place is supplied by *ēode*, *ēode*st, plur. *ēodon*, from a verb which has no present forms.

§ 213.

IV. *willan*, to will.

PRESENT

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	wille	} wille, wile
2.	wilt	
3.	wile	
Plur.	willað	willen

Infinitive *willan* ; Pres. Participle *willende*.

PRETERITE

	<i>Indicative</i>	<i>Subjunctive</i>
Sing. 1.	wolde	} wolde
2.	woldest	
3.	wolde	
Plur.	woldon	wolden

The 1st pers. sing **wille** (Goth. **willau**), and the 3rd pers. **wile** (Goth. **wili**), are old subjunctive forms used for the indicative. They are frequently confused in Old English. **wilt** has **t** from the preterite-present verbs; **willaþ** has borrowed the ordinary ending of the present indicative. Negative forms **nylle**, **noide**, etc., occur with contraction of the negative particle "**ne**" with the verb (§ 75, 1, Note).

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The numbers given refer to the paragraphs of the Grammar. A letter in brackets (thus bræ(3)d) means that it is sometimes omitted; a letter in brackets after a word indicates that variant or dialectal forms occur. Thus bēa₃, (ē) indicates that the forms bēa₃ and bē₃ are both found.

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